

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188
<p>Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.</p>			
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)	2. REPORT DATE Jan - Dec 1981	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa		5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Eunice Charles, Steven Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Mary Louis Harmon, Greta Holtz, Linda Lau, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, Patricia Rigsbee, Rachel Warner			
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-4840		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Prepared under an Interagency Agreement			
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) An annotated bibliography of open sources received. Entries on strategic military, political, and economic topics are included. Published monthly until September 1984 and quarterly thereafter.			
14. SUBJECT TERMS Africa--Sub-Sahara Military affairs Economy		15. NUMBER OF PAGES Various lengths	
16. PRICE CODE			
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT SAR

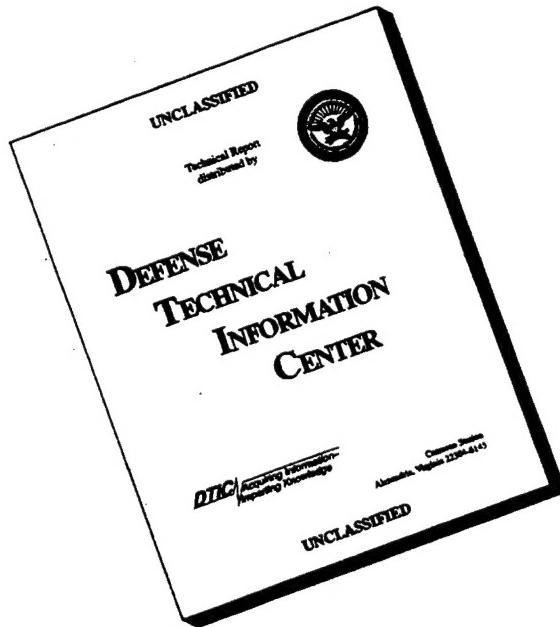
NSN 7540-01-280-5500

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)
Prescribed by ANSI Std Z39-18

298-102

19960826 158

DISCLAIMER NOTICE



**THIS DOCUMENT IS BEST
QUALITY AVAILABLE. THE
COPY FURNISHED TO DTIC
CONTAINED A SIGNIFICANT
NUMBER OF PAGES WHICH DO
NOT REPRODUCE LEGIBLY.**

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

January - December 1981

Prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress
under an interagency agreement

PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the year 1981. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in January 1981)

Africa General

Imobighe, T. A. "An African High Command." African Affairs, April 1980, pp. 241-45.

Points out traditional problems associated with a possible All Africa High Command. Believes that such a force should be decentralized, with only the affected zones (north, south, east, or west Africa) responding. The command "should be structured exclusively to respond to racist and imperialist violations."

Leogrande, William M. "Cuba's Policy in Africa, 1959-1980" Berkeley: University of California Institute of International Studies (Policy Papers in International Affairs No. 13), 1980. As reviewed in The Friday Review of Defense Literature, 19 December 1980, pp. 3-4.

Cuba is not the USSR's proxy in Africa but rather its partner. Cuban intervention in Africa was essentially reactive--coming to the aid of a friendly government or political movement when it was challenged by its enemies. The USSR and Cuba do not share a common strategy in their joint activities in Africa as ideology is quite important to the Cubans whereas geopolitical concerns are central to understanding the Soviet motivations.

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Soviet Policies in Africa." African Affairs, July 1980, pp. 297-325.

The political, economic, and strategic aspects of Soviet policies in Africa are, and have been for some time, all interconnected. Thus, Moscow's objective at every level, whether at the micro level (that is, in the individual state concerned) or in the macro context (continental or global), has been the same: how to advance the USSR's national interests.

Paris, Henri. "L'Action Recente des Sovietiques en Afrique (Recent Actions of the Soviets in Africa)." Defense Nationale, November 1980, pp. 41-55.

Prudence, avoiding direct involvement in conflict, and opportunism, switching sides for a better deal as in the case of Somalia and Ethiopia, characterize Soviet African policy. Lack of colonial experience causes Soviets to make many errors in policy, but the Soviets accept setbacks as part of social conflict. Attitudes rather than case studies are the focus of the author.

Servranckx, Jacques. "Les Actions Recentes de la France en Afrique (Recent French Actions in Africa)." Defense Nationale, November 1980, pp. 33-40.

The author, a division general, lauds the French Army for its capabilities. He catalogues recent (after 1974) French interventions in Africa, including that of Chad in 1980, as demonstrating to French allies that France is loyal and capable.

ANGOLA

Bhagavan, M. R. Angola: Prospects for Socialist Industrialization. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1980. Reviewed in West Africa, 27 October 1980.

This short report--48 pages--deals mostly with the structure of Angolan industry before 1974. Deals in passing with the country's position in the international division of labor. Industrialization before 1974 was directed toward the white settler market with 37 percent of production set aside for luxury consumption. The author reaches the conclusion that the government is going slowly in nationalization because it wants to attract foreign investment so the manufacturing sector will not be brought under control by the workers for several more years. The reviewer believes the author should have dealt with pressures forcing the government to go slow in this area.

BURUNDI

"An Elusive Unity." Africa News, 11 February 1980, pp. 3-5. As cited in A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1980-81, p. 71.

Burundi's military government spent 3 years preparing to transfer the reins of power to the resurrected National Unity and Progress Party (UPRONA). That shift finally came in December 1979, and political analysts are now watching to see how successful UPRONA administration will be in the tackling of the nation's many problems, perhaps the first among them ethnic conflict.

CONGO

"La Republique Populaire du Congo (The People's Republic of the Congo)." Europe Outremer, No. 604, May 1980, 52 pp.

A special issue on the People's Republic of the Congo. Subunits of the issue include: "The founding of Brazzaville (30 Jan-8 Feb 1944)," "The Centennial Bridge," "Oil: 5 million tons will be reached in 1982," "Forests," "Agriculture," "Industrial Modernization," "The Realignment of the Congo-Ocean Railroad," "The Banking System," "Franco-Congolese Cooperation."

ETHIOPIA

Lycett, Andrew. "Eritrea: States Within States?" The Middle East, January 1981, pp. 27-28.

Sudanese President Nimairi has been active in trying to resolve the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict. Mr. Lycett reviews the latest developments in this area and discusses what Sudanese mediation means for the Eritrean revolutionaries. Particular attention is paid to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), considered the most successful of the many separtist movements fighting in Ethiopia's northern province. Alternative solutions for the Eritreans include gaining full independence, reverting to their previous status in the Ethiopian federation, or settling for local autonomy.

GAMBIA

"Opposition View of The Gambia." West Africa, 15 December 1980, pp. 2553-55.

An interview with Pap Seega, the Secretary-General of the Gambian National Liberation Party in which he discourses primarily on the banning of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA). Seega claims that President Jawara has too much power and is seeking more, belying Gambia's democratic reputation. He envisions a revolution in Gambia (though he hopes it will be non-violent), and cites as symptoms of coming malaise the critical shortages in basic consumer goods Gambia now faces.

GHANA

"How to Revitalize Ghana's Economy." West Africa, 15 December 1980, pp. 2537, 2540-41.

A report of the Task Force on Investments which was charged with analyzing Ghana's economy to determine what should be done to stimulate it and create a more favorable climate for investments. Among the recommendations: a comprehensive policy to encourage foreign investment, an internal campaign to spur domestic investment, and an effort to curtail corruption and mismanagement in government.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Chabal, Patrick. "The PAIGC: The Dilemmas of Continuity." West Africa, 22/29 December 1980, pp. 2593-94.

The coup-makers in Guinea-Bissau have stated that they intend "to follow the political program of the PAIGC, to carry out the policies of the third party congress (1977), and more generally to return to Amilcar Cabral's 'political line' which they claim (former) President Luiz Cabral betrayed."

"Party Politics Behind Guinea-Bissau Coup." West Africa, 15 December 1980, pp. 2554-56.

Although the coup-makers in Guinea-Bissau initially played up "anti-Cape Verdian feelings," they are now seeking to justify their action in political rather than ethnic terms. The coup, they claim, was directed only against President Cabral and his supporters and not against Cape Verdians. President Vieira is taking steps to assure President Periera of Cape Verde that the intent of the revolution was not to sever links with Praia or to abolish the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. In fact, several key positions in the Bissau Government are still in the hands of Cape Verdians. A brief history of Guinea-Bissau--Cape Verdian relations since colonization by Portugal is included.

KENYA

"Deepening Crisis for Ethnic Somalis." Africa News, 8 December 1980, pp. 2-11.

The government of Kenya is currently in the midst of a campaign to end tribalism in the country. Powerful ethnic organizations involved in politics and welfare have been pressured to end their activities in the name of national unity. But ethnic loyalties run deep--especially among the Somalis in the northeastern province of Kenya--and have given rise to violence against the central government's policies of unification.

LIBERIA

Liebenow, J. Gus. "Liberia: The Dissolution of Privilege." American University Field Staff Reports, Nos. 39-41, July 1980, 27 pp.

This is a three-part study by an author familiar with Liberian affairs in which he presents a detailed analysis of the April 1980 coup in Liberia. Part I includes a short history of Liberia leading up to the April 1979 "Rice Riots." President Tolbert's fatal flaw was "his constant vacillation" which alienated the old guard as well as young dissidents. Part II discusses the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), the two parties opposed to Tolbert's regime. The April 1980 coup by the enlisted ranks and the formation of the People's Redemption Council (PRC) is briefly covered. More space is devoted to the post-coup atmosphere and the naming of a civilian cabinet to handle the day-to-day affairs of state. Part III speculates on the direction the "revolution" will take and the challenges it will face, especially probable economic difficulties.

MALI

Wolpin, Miles D. "Legitimising State Capitalism: Malian Militarism in the Third-World Perspective." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 1980.

Mali serves as an outstanding example whereby a Third World country, albeit officially Socialist, is completely dominated by military state capitalism. Funds intended for development have been increasingly diverted from social programs to the military and Mali has become more and more dependent on foreign aid and management and, hence, less self-sufficient. Highly critical of military governments, Wolpin portends a future of "factional strife, repression and developmental malaise" for Mali.

MOZAMBIQUE

Davidson, Basil. "Revolution of People's Power." Monthly Review, Vol. 32, No. 3, July-August 1980, pp. 75-87.

A report of the author's trip to Mozambique in May and June 1979, including the attempt of the government to organize a party made up of people appointed after being screened in their communities. He also gives a brief sketch of the history of the liberation movement. The article is written in a chatty style.

NAMIBIA

Poos, Bob. "3-1 Battalion Bushmen." Soldier of Fortune, May 1980, pp. 45-50, 84.

Comprised of semi-nomadic people, 3-1 battalion is "unique to any army in the world." "3-1" has displayed remarkable tracking and combat skills against SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia. Describing the Bushmen as "essentially mercenaries," Poos compares them to the Montagnards of Vietnam. Poos fails to mention that the recent militarization of the Bushmen has undermined much of their traditional society.

"South Africa Generals Tell Lies." Namibia Today, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1980, pp. 20-21.

Claims that South African leaders, including General Geldenhuys, are underestimating South African casualties while overestimating dead SWAPO guerrillas.

Venter, Al J. "Angolan Border Firefight." Soldier of Fortune, April 1980, pp. 54-61.

How a squad of trackers in the South West Africa Special Operations tracked guerrilla spoor, survived a firefight, and destroyed an insurgent base. Photos.

Venter, Al J. "Ploughshares Into Swords." Soldier of Fortune, February 1980, pp. 86-90.

Examines how farmers in the operational areas of Namibia are adjusting to guerrilla warfare. A heavily sympathetic treatment, the article compares the support given to wartime farmers in Namibia and Rhodesia and concludes that the Namibian Government has been deficient in supplying fencing, patrols, and communications equipment.

"The Voice of Pride and Humility." Namibia Today, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1980, pp. 15-23.

Largely polemical, but with short sections on the recent political and military events in Namibia.

NICERIA

"Campaign for the Return of Gowon and Ojukwu." West Africa, 15 December 1980, pp. 2547, 2549-50.

A movement is building for the return from self-imposed exile of former head of state General Gowon and the leader of the Biafran secession, Colonel Ojukwu. Among those who support this movement are the governors of Plateau State (Gowon's home state) and Imo and Anambra States (Ojukwu's region); the head of the United Party of Nigeria (UPN), Chief Awolowo; Alhaji Amino Kano of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP); and Christian leader Dr. Akanu Ibiam.

"Issues Behind the Okigbo Debate." West Africa, 8 December 1980, pp. 2476-78.

There has been heated debate in Nigeria over a formula for revenue allocation and sometime in 1981 the National Assembly will approve a final version of an allocation bill. The controversy is multidimensional: federal versus "oil states"; "oil states" versus "oil states"; "oil states" versus non-oil states; and federal versus state. The Okigbo Commission's recommendations do not vary much from President Shagari's proposals, therefore, some combination of the two is likely to be agreed upon by the National Assembly.

Karp, Mark. "Export Concentration in Nigeria." The Journal of Developing Areas, April 1980, pp. 301-12.

Published posthumously, the article relies on a statistical analysis to confirm Nigeria's growing dependence on oil as an export commodity. The author argues that the risk this presents to the economy is great and urges diversification primarily in the agricultural sector, noting the problems other nations have experienced when attempting to carry out industrialization programs aimed at "import substitution."

"Nigeria Oils the Wheels for Growth." Africa Economic Digest, 23 January 1981, pp. 2-4.

Summarizes Nigeria's fourth national development plan (1981-85). "The size of the plan has caused surprise . . . and there are fears that the economy may not be able to absorb such vast sums." Although the plan is aimed at "self-reliance," it will increase imports in the short term and require an additional 125,000 skilled foreign workers.

Odetola, Theophilus Olatunde. Military Politics in Nigeria: Economic Development and Political Stability. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1978, xxvi+179 pp. Reviewed in The Journal of Modern African Studies, June 1980, pp. 332-34.

The author concludes that "the military is fit to govern when the pressures of ethnic pluralism, rapid modernization, and consequent demands by groups of classes threaten to overwhelm fragile governmental structures." The military uses the "existing authority of traditional rulers to calm and pacify the masses: they centralize decisions and decentralize initiatives, and through the effectiveness thus gained ensure their own legitimacy."

Panter-Brick, Keith, ed. Soldiers and Oil: the Political Transformation of Nigeria. London: Frank Cass, 1978, xii+375 pp. Reviewed in The Journal of Modern African Studies, June 1980, pp. 334-36.

"A collection of essays (that are) a valuable contribution . . . to the literature on the general problems of army rule and disengagement, as well as the prospects of stability in the post-military era." In one essay, "Army Reorganization and Military Withdrawal," Ian Campbell "discusses the composition of the army command, especially as regards the allocation of responsibilities, and the nature and scope of demobilization against the wider issue of whether the post-military regime should be entirely civilian or a dyarchy."

SENEGAL

Boulares, Habib with Ben Yahmed, Bechir and Diallo, Siradiou. "L. S. Senghor 'Ma Tache N'Est Pas Encore Terminee' ('My Job is not yet Finished')." Jeune Afrique, No. 1043, 31 December 1980, pp. 166-74.

This final interview with L. S. Senghor on the eve of his resignation as President of Senegal is both a criticism of African failures and a statement of hope for Africa's future. African divisions, especially lack of unanimous condemnation of all foreign intervention, are damned. High military expenditures, over-dependence on state enterprises, and the creation of an economy for the benefit of civil servants receive strong censure. Despite an overall negative statement, Senghor ends the interview with optimism.

Cox, Pamela, and Kessler, Richard. "'Apres Senghor'--A Socialist Senegal?" African Affairs, July 1980, pp. 327-41.

Although the 'After Senghor' arrived with the resignation of the former and only president of Senegal, Cox's and Kessler's analysis of Socialist Senegal deserves attention. While doctrinaire Marxist Socialists might be hard put to discover the Socialism in Senghor's Senegal, liberal democracy in Africa has been given a boost by the peaceful resignation of a pragmatic Socialist.

Larteguey, Jean. "Qadhafi's Great Plot." Paris Match 12 December 1980, pp 83-84, 120-121.

In a wide-ranging article on Qadhafi's actions on the African continent, Larteguey includes an interview with Leopold Senghor in which the latter asserts that the Arab Polisario butchers black Africans. This is why there were no Mauritanian prisoners freed by the Polisario after Mauritania pulled out of the war in the Western Sahara. Moreover, Qadhafi has designs on the entire Sahel region. To further these designs, he is training expatriots from black Africa and returning them to their homelands to cause trouble.

SIERRA LEONE

"Testing Time for Stevens." Africa News, 15 December 1980, pp. 3-4.

Student protesters have once again unsettled the government in Sierra Leone with a series of strikes and marches in which police responded with violence. In an effort to reduce the political influence of students, President Stevens appointed himself chancellor of the university, cut back on services and facilities to students, and induced influential professors to accept higher-paying posts elsewhere.

SOUTH AFRICA

Danaher, Kevin. "U.S. Policy Options Toward South Africa: A Bibliographic Essay." A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1980-1981, pp. 2-25.

Succinctly reviews and suggests sources for three policy choices: closer ties with Pretoria, moderate criticism and limited punitive measures, and closer ties with the liberation movements, coupled with stronger actions against Pretoria. 8-page bibliography.

Frankel, Philip. "The Politics of Poverty: Political Competition in Soweto." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1980, pp. 201-20.

Examines the relative strengths of the three major political groups in Soweto: Soweto Council, Soweto Civic Association, and Inkatha. Frankel predicts that Inkatha, headed by Chief Buthelezi, will emerge as strongest as long as it straddles the tightrope of being both a government critic and recipient of government largesse.

"Military Prepares With Nukes, Black Recruitment." Africa News, 1 December 1980, pp. 7-9.

Cites an "unpublished CIA report" that suggests that the 1977 explosion off South Africa's coast was created by South Africa firing a tactical nuclear device from its new 155-mm howitzer. Also discusses increased black recruitment in Namibia by the South African Army: "In the end Pretoria's strategy may backfire, providing its guerrilla foe with a new source of intelligence information and, ultimately, recruits."

Poos, Bob. "RSA's Cuban Killer." Soldier of Fortune, June 1980, pp. 54-55, 75.

Story of Lt. Van Vuuren of the South African Army Armored Corps and how he "blew away more than 70 Cuban mercenaries" during South Africa's incursion into Angola during 1975.

Serfontein, Hennie. "The Collapse of Botha's Constellation Strategy." Africa, November 1980, pp. 47-50.

"Pretoria's attempts to establish a constellation of southern African states as part of the 'total strategy' to perpetuate White minority rule in South Africa through economic patronage and pressure, recently ran aground when the 'Southern Nine' (black nations) . . . established their own economic union."

Thatcher, Gary. "Limiting Soviet Influence in Southern Africa." Christian Science Monitor, 18 December 1980. Reprinted in AF Press Clips, 9 January 1980, pp. 19-21.

Discusses whether the US is dependent on South African minerals and whether US investment strengthens the status quo or raises black living conditions and aspirations.

Thatcher, Gary. "Safeguarding the Oil Lifeline Around the Cape." Christian Science Monitor, 17 December 1980, pp. 12-13.

Discusses the relative importance of the Cape Route to Western strategic interests and whether the American Government may soon establish closer intelligence links with the South African Government.

SUDAN

"Sudan Survey." Africa Economic Digest, 2 January 1981, pp. 2-9.

A compendium of articles reviewing Sudan's political situation and prospects in various major sectors of the Sudanese economy. Includes a brief historical survey of the political situation, "Energy--moving towards self-sufficiency," "Agriculture--consolidation and reconstruction," and "Transport--linking the heartland with the sea." Contains abundant statistical information on all of these subjects.

TANZANIA

Coulson, Andrew, ed. African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzanian Experience. Nottingham: Spokesman, 1979, 239 pp. Reviewed in Revue Francaise de Science Politique, December 1980, pp. 1351-52.

"This collection of essays, rich in concrete information and penetrating analysis, examines the disparities between the official Socialist ideology of the Tanzanian regime with the policies that have been initiated by the state."

Iliffe, John. A Modern History of Tanganyika. (Africa Studies Series, 25.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 616 pp. Reviewed by John Tosh in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 43, Part 2, 1980, pp. 416-17.

"Iliffe's history of Tanganyika sets entirely new standards of scholarship, coherence, and comprehensiveness. For Africanists its publication is an event of major importance."

ZAIRE

Gharbi, Samir. "Zaire: La Derniere Chance? (Zaire: The Last Chance?)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1041, 17 December 1980, pp. 36-37.

A rather detailed historical study of Zaire's current economic crisis. Discusses the origins of the high debt accrued by Zaire since 1970; contains abundant economic statistical information on Zaire; and reviews the rather "austere" reforms forwarded by the International Monetary Fund. The author acknowledges that Zaire's economic situation has improved over the past few years. But, he wonders how much longer the Zairian people will support the "erosion of their purchasing power." In conclusion, Gharbi feels that a moratorium on payments and a new infusion of investment capital could help to avoid a "Shaba III" or a "radical change of regimes" in Zaire.

"Zaire: The Opposition Tangle." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 23, 12 November 1980, pp. 5-8.

One of the main arguments in the West for continuing to support President Mobutu (albeit reluctantly) has been the absence of any remotely credible alternative. However, most of the serious Zairian opposition movements met in a 3-week congress in Belgium during June 1980 and formed the Council for the Liberation of Congo-Kinshasa (CLC). The bulk of the article discusses those groups which have joined the CLC as well as those that have not.

"Zaire: Transport Crucial to Development." Africa Economic Digest, 2 January 1981, p. 24.

A rather detailed and comprehensive article concerning the development of the transport infrastructure in Zaire. Includes specifics of international sources for financial support.

ZIMBABWE

Bratton, Michael. "The Public Service in Zimbabwe." Political Science Quarterly, Fall 1980, pp. 441-64.

The author discusses the potential for use of the public service sector for change in the Zimbabwe Government. The strong public service run by the Whites since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 can be manipulated by the new government to build the economy and increase opportunity for Blacks. More of a general description of influencing factors, rather than a blueprint for change.

Davis, John. "Will Inflation Increase?" Commerce, October 1980, pp. 9, 11.

The magazine is published by the Zimbabwe Chamber of Commerce. Three factors account for a slowdown in the inflation rate: the stability of oil prices in 1980; the stability of food prices; and government policy in reducing the sales tax and instituting food price subsidies.

Smiley, Xan. "Zimbabwe: The Takeover." The New York Review of Books, 5 February 1981, pp. 24-28.

Praises Prime Minister Mugabe for being politically astute in his first year of power. Zimbabwe is becoming a one-party state with Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU party losing out. There are disadvantages and advantages of one-party states in Africa. The one-party state structure in Zimbabwe would not necessarily be antithetical to the expectations of black Zimbabweans and not necessarily authoritarian and unbending. But he does say such structure runs the risk of becoming corrupt.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in February 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Foltz, William J. "United States' National Interests in Africa." Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution, January 1980, 19 pp. Mimeo.

Warns against the United States "acting out ideological proclivities" without first understanding the specific African situations. Minimizes the "resource war," noting that ideology in Africa does not determine outside access to minerals. Believes that the United States is best prepared to compete economically and politically rather than militarily, against the Soviet Union. Foltz briefly examines the possible effects of the ability of some African states to topple neighboring states. Finally, Foltz suggests that African states will shift from extra-continental concern and will concentrate more on regional power realities.

Jonah, James. "The Relationship between U.S. National Interests and Various Countries and/or Areas in Africa." Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution, January 1980. 13 pp. Mimeo.

Strongly maintains that America's primary long run goal in Africa should be the pushing for Namibian independence and substantial domestic reform in South Africa. Believes that as the final vestiges of political colonialism leave Africa, African unity will lessen and national conflicts will increase. Jonah warns that the US in such conflicts would benefit more by supporting OAU reconciliation attempts rather than by military intervention.

Larteguy, Jean. "La France en-a-t-elle assez de l'Afrique? Les Gouvernements d'Afrique Noire s'inquiètent (Has France Had Enough of Africa? The Governments of Black Africa are Disturbed)." Paris Match, No. 1650, 9 January 1981, pp. 50-1.

The Libyan intervention in Chad which did not meet a strong challenge from France has led leaders of Black Africa to ask if France has not abandoned Africa. The author asks rhetorically if Africa, once cynically defined as "the domain of the Chateau of Elysee," is worth what it costs France. In light of new elections this summer in France, the options of Giscard d'Estaing may be limited and exclude another intervention like Kolwezi, which was badly received by the French public.

LeVine, Victor T. and Timothy W. Luke. The Arab-African Connection: Political and Economic Realities. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979, Reviewed by Clement Moore in The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 14, No. 4 (July 1980), pp. 582-83.

"The authors argue in conclusion that the current or recent conflicts con-

"The authors argue in conclusion that the current or recent conflicts can have all served to undermine the Arab-African connection and once again raise in African minds old fears about the motives and intentions of the Arab states."

Paris, Henri. "L'Action Recente des Sovietiques en Afrique." (Recent Soviet Action in Africa) Defense Nationale, November 1980, pp. 41-52.

The author contends that the apparent success of the Soviets in Africa has been the result of the USSR not having a stigma of colonialism and of the efforts of the Cubans. The question is raised regarding how much longer these factors can redound to the advantage of the Soviets.

Stein, Leslie. The Growth of East African Exports and Their Effect on Economic Development. London: Croom Helm, 1979, 272 pp. Reviewed by Lorenzo Perez in The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 14, No. 4 (July 1980), pp. 591-92.

"Stein's study is a valuable addition to the literature [of development] because it analyzes the experience of developing countries whose export sector has been a significant source of economic growth. The analysis of the export performance and economic growth of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda is particularly interesting because of the importance of exports to their economies."

Waterbury, John. Hydropolitics of the Nile Valley. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1979, 301 pp. As reviewed in The American Political Science Review, Vol. 74, No. 3, September 1980, p. 893.

"A balanced and sober discussion of the Nile River and all the politics that it generates on its long way to the sea." "This is an absolutely 'must' book for all those . . interested in the Nile, or in Egypt and the Sudan."

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

"Central African Republic: The Rough Ride." Africa Confidential, Vol. 22, No. 2, 14 January 1981, pp. 5-7.

Despite President Dacko's proven skill at keeping the opposition divided and weak, he still faces several potentially serious threats to his regime. These threats include the call for a multiparty system in the CAR, trade union and student unrest, and the existence of several strong political personalities who could muster support away from Dacko. Likewise, while France still backs Dacko, the French "seem to be keeping their options open." (France has the only "relevant" military force in the CAR at present.) There is also the possibility of a Libyan-backed anti-French and anti-Dacko movement.

BLANK PAGE

**DEFENSE TECHNICAL
INFORMATION CENTER**

GABON

"We are nobody's colony." New African, December 1980, p. 18.

In an interview with New African, Gabonese President Bongo refutes the allegation that Gabon is a "virtual colony of France." Bongo also briefly comments on Gabon's one-party system and on the situation in Chad.

CAMBIA

Bakarr, S.A. "The Gambia in perspective." West Africa, 26 January 1981, p. 165.

A response to an article critical of the Gambian Government which appeared in the 15 December 1980 issue of West Africa. Bakarr, editor of the Gambian Times, makes a personal attack on its author, Pap Seega (also known as Pap Cheyassine Secka), in this desultory defense of President Jawara and the Gambian Government.

GHANA

Duah, Nana Appau. "Investors urged to take part in Ghana's 'golden future'." Africa Economic Digest, 16 January 1981, pp. 2-5.

Reports on the January 1981 gold seminar held in Accra. The Limann administration has promised to overhaul existing legislation to make it easier for foreign companies to invest in the Ghana gold mining industry. Ghana's estimates of its gold potential are viewed with skepticism. Chronic political instability is said to cause many investors to shy away from Ghana.

Oquaye, Mike. Politics in Ghana, 1972-1979. N.p.: Tornado Publications, n.d. Reviewed in West Africa, 5 January 1981, pp. 23-24.

The author feels that "militarism is not the answer to Africa's political problems." He makes this claim in his critical assessment of the Acheampong and Akuffo regimes. The press is accused of "keeping silent when various self-seeking politicians looted Ghana." Oquaye reverses his views, however, when discussing the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) period whom, he says, "gave the Revolution meaning," and left a "priceless legacy to the people of Ghana."

"President Limann and Nkrumahism." West Africa, 15 December 1980, pp. 2533-35; 22/29 December 1980, pp. 2612-14; 5 January 1981, pp. 20-22.

This three part essay is a defense of the People's National Party in Ghana. The late Kwame Nkrumah is cast in a very favorable light: the author marks

the demise of the economy with his overthrow. Although the PNP claims descent from Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP), it is in fact a new political entity with a less radical, more pragmatic ideology. The People's Revolutionary League of Ghana (PRLG), which the author discounts as "blood-thirsty," accuses the PNP of betraying Nkrumah and his ideals. The author denies this charge stating that Nkrumah was concerned first and foremost with national development, as is the PNP.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Chabal, Patrick. "Coup for continuity?" West Africa, 12 January 1981, pp. 62-63.

The last of a three part analysis of the November 1980 coup in Guinea-Bissau written before the dissolution of the PAIGC in Cape Verde. The economic situation preceding the takeover by Major Vieira is examined in an attempt to ascertain the economic roots of the coup. "The absence of democratic institutions. . . could endanger Guinea-Bissau's" ability to secure foreign aid for the West.

"Prime Minister Ousts President in Palace Coup." Africa News, 24 November 1980, pp. 3-5.

Encapsulated version of the November 1980 coup in Guinea-Bissau which removed Luis Cabral from the presidency and installed Nino Vieira and subsequently engendered a cleavage between the Bissaun and Cape Verdian branches of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

LIBERIA

"How goes the revolution." West Africa, 2 February 1981, pp. 208-11.

A sympathetic view of the Liberian Revolution which unfortunately devotes too much attention to background and not enough to present conditions. The author suggests that some Liberians suspect that "too little is happening" and that some officials are behaving "as their predecessors." US Army Corps of Engineers support for barrack construction and a US grant of transport vehicles are mentioned.

MOZAMBIQUE

Isaacman, Allen. A Luta Continua, Creating a New Society in Mozambique. Binghamton, N.Y.: Southern Africa Pamphlets No. 1, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems and Civilizations, 1978.

Reviewed by Ronald H. Chilcote in Africa Today, Second Quarter 1980, pp. 55-57.

After traveling in the country in 1976 and 1977, the author analyzes social structures set up by the socialist government after leading Mozambique to independence in 1975. The reviewer points out that the author is optimistic and enthusiastic about the success of these structures in improving the welfare of the people. He describes the government policies of establishing universal free education, nationalizing health care and guaranteeing medical treatment "to all people." The reviewer opines, "In his conclusion, he is particularly perturbed that much of the foreign press has portrayed the government as totalitarian and racist. Clearly one of his objectives is to correct this impression through a convincing, factually-based, description and analysis of the accomplishments of a revolutionary regime which is striving to build a democratic and socialist society."

NAMIBIA

"A False Guerrilla Tells." Namibia Today, Vol. 5/6, 1980, pp. 22-25.

Interview with a SWAPO member who was abducted and tortured by South African police and then forced into a special military unit whose function is to impersonate SWAPO guerrillas. Included is a brief description of the unit's terror operations.

"Namibia: The Geneva Hiccup." Africa Confidential, 14 January 1981, pp. 1-2.

Succinct introduction to the major black individuals and groups seeking independence from South Africa. Explains why SWAPO is likely to win an open election.

Nujoma, Samuel. "President Sam Nujoma Denounces Pretoria's Manoeuvres." Namibia Today, Vol. 2/3, 1980, pp. 6-9.

At a Luanda press conference Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, argued against some of South Africa's positions on Namibia. Nujoma stated that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, rather than South Africa, that the United Nations Transition Advisory Group (UNITAG) military force should concentrate along the Orange river, rather than Namibia's northern borders, and that South Africa cannot maintain military bases in the proposed demilitarized zone.

Venter, Al. J. "Africa's Forgotten War." Eagle, April 1981, pp. 34-41.

Largely an account of an firefight between a Special Forces unit of South Africa and SWAPO guerrillas. Venter also notes the role of East Germans and

Cubans within SWAPO. Although the article exudes a strongly South African bias, Venter states that "SWAPO is a tough adversary. . .more highly rated by professionals than either the ZIPRA or ZANLA terrorists. . . ." Numerous pictures.

NIGERIA

Okoli, Enukora Joe. "After the Kano Rioting." West Africa, 12 January 1981, pp. 53-54.

Reviews the December 1980 religious riot in Kano instigated by the Yan Izala Islamic sect (3,000 followers). Various conspiracy theories are explored (including one involving Israel) using scant factual information. The Nigerian police and intelligence organizations are faulted for inefficiency. Since most of the sect's members were non-Nigerians, there may be an anti-foreigner backlash, especially in the north.

Sunmonu, Hassan A. "The Case for the Nigerian Labor Congress." West Africa, 19 January 1981, pp. 104-6.

A rejoinder by the President of the Nigerian Labor Congress to articles written by Umoh James Umoh, a correspondent for the Daily Times and West Africa. Sunmonu chronicles the press campaign that he claims the Daily Times is waging against the NLC in an effort to dislodge him from office.

SOUTH AFRICA

Alexander, Lt. McGill. "The Transport Glider." Militaria, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1980), pp. 35-40.

After reviewing glider problems and accomplishments during WW II, Alexander proposes that the South African Defense Force consider glider construction. Gliders would prove easy to construct, help overcome the UN weapons embargo, preserve foreign exchange, utilize abundant thermals in southern Africa, and operate silently against insurgents.

Deutsch, Richard (interviewer). "Thozamile Botha, South African Trade Union Leader." Africa Report, January-February 1981, pp. 42-44.

A former trade union organizer and leader of a recent strike against Ford in South Africa, Botha argues that any international business presence in South Africa, no matter how well-intentioned, will exploit the blacks.

Gautswe, John. "SA Workers Demand." Sechaba December 1980, pp. 17-19.

Recent demands by SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) including the right of all workers to form and choose their own trade unions, the abolition of pass laws, a national minimum wage, and a 40-hour work week.

"Covan Mbeki--Isithwalandwe." Sechaba, December 1980, pp. 7-12.

A former writer and editor in the eastern Cape of South Africa, Mbeki was also a member of the African National Congress and South African Communist Party. This fairly factual article traces his life, up to the point when the ANC began violent struggle. Now 70 years old, Mbeki is imprisoned on Robben Island.

Groenewald, Coen. "A New Labor Dispensation." South African Panorama, October 1980, pp. 34-39.

A review of labor relations within South Africa during this century and ending with a review of the Wichahn and Rickert reports on labor legislation and manpower utilization.

Hessel, Brad. "South Africa. The Death of Colonialism." Strategy & Tactics, May/June 1977, pp. 4-14, R1-R8.

"An operational level simulation of a possible revolt of (South Africa's) Black majority against the White South African Government and of the government's reactions to such a revolt." Factual sections on southern Africa's Military Capabilities, Military Personnel & Hardware, and Geographical Considerations.

Kanyemba, Peter. "Enemy Exposed." Namibia Today, Vol. 2/3, 1980, pp. 13-14.

The Secretary of SWAPO's Department of Defense presented some interesting allegations against the South African Defense Force (SADF). SADF has organized a "terrorist unit," comparable to Rhodesia's Selous Scouts, which impersonates SWAPO guerrillas. The Defense Force employs psychological warfare techniques modeled after CIA's "Operation Manchuria." And, the South Africans are deploying UNITA soldiers within Namibia.

"Pelindaba's Indispensible Infrastructure," Oversight of Energy Development in Africa and the Middle East, April 1980, pp. 94-99.

A glowing, apparently South African, report on South Africa's nuclear installation which houses the SAFARI-1 reactor. Article discusses waste treatment ("the quality of the effluent is of a much higher standard than the raw water drawn from the same river!"), as well as the functions of the Engineering Services Division and the Department of Technical Training.

"SASOL Synthol Process and Activities," Oversight Of Energy Development in Africa and The Middle East, April 1980, pp. 51-80.

Offers a technical explanation of the Fischer-Tropsch coal gasification process, a history of SASOL, and an examination of mining techniques at the SASOL sites.

Simon, Bernard. "South Africa's Economic Boom Hurts Its Neighbors." Africa Economic Digest, 30 January 1980, pp. 4-5.

South Africa's rising food prices have caused a spiraling cost-push inflation among neighboring countries which depend heavily upon South Africa's agriculture. Additionally, investment otherwise headed for neighboring black states is instead headed for the more attractive South African economy. Finally, South African mining companies are relying increasingly upon indigenous labor.

Smith, Daniel. "South Africa's Nuclear Capability." New York: American Committee on Africa, 1980, 32 pp. Reviewed in Africa Today, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 72-73.

Examines "the component parts of South Africa's nuclear program: uranium mining, development of research reactors, a uranium enrichment plant and nuclear generators."

SUDAN

el-Sunni, Mustafa. "Reporting on re-reporting." Sudanow (Khartoum), November 1980, pp. 38-39.

All of the goods that travel to and from Sudan by sea are handled at Sudan's only port, Port Sudan. The port is undergoing a redevelopment program designed to quadruple the port's handling capacity, among other things. The article discusses the three stages in the program and contains abundant statistical information on Port Sudan.

Taban, Alfred Logune. "The burden of the past." Sudanow (Khartoum), December 1980, pp. 23-24.

Due to the post-1973 OPEC petrol price rises, the price decline of Third World primary products, and bureaucratic and planning failures, the world's developing countries have found themselves compelled to borrow more development capital, "often at more and more onerous terms." Sudan is no exception. An increasingly "unacceptable" proportion of Third World earnings goes to service past debts. The article details Sudan's debt problems.

Wodegabriel, Berhane. "Sudan takes to the road." Sudanow (Khartoum), November 1980, pp. 9-13.

A rather detailed study of aspects of Sudan's 6 year transportation development plan. The focus is on road improvements, developments and construction.

TANZANIA

Honey, Martha. "Tanzania: Iraqi Cutoff Deepens Oil Crisis." Africa News, 15 December 1980, pp. 9-10.

Tanzania, already struggling with its worst economic crisis, will by next year be spending nearly 60 percent of its export earnings to buy oil and will almost certainly be forced to introduce gasoline rationing or other austerity measures. The Iran-Iraq War is complicating the crisis for Tanzania, which had been buying 60 percent of its oil from Iraq.

McHenry, Dean E., Jr. "The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1980), pp. 237-256.

The governments of the Third World are among the strongest supporters of the use of sports to achieve policy objectives. Tanzania has been in the forefront of those seeking to use sports for the implementation of both domestic and foreign policy, and this study examines the approaches used, the success attained, and the general implications of this country's experience.

UPPER VOLTA

Cot, Ginette. "La Fin d'un Mythe (The End of a Myth)." Afrique-Asie, No. 223, 8 to 23 December 1980, pp. 37-9.

A critique of the short lived civilian government of President (General) Sangoule Lamizana and the events which led to the military coup, called a putsch by the author, which overthrew it. The role of the labor unions in fomenting the crisis which led up the coup are favorably viewed, and the former President and his political party are accused of wanting to dominate through a single party system.

ZAIRE

"Zaire under the IMF Spotlight again." New African, December 1980, pp. 68-70.

A rather favorable overview of Zaire's recent financial reforms as they apply to next year's International Monetary Fund (IMF) "extension fund agreement." The article concludes with a brief review of the remaining problem areas (i.e., smuggling, graft). The author concludes: "President Mobutu's recent warning that the country is in for another year of austerity in 1981 is likely to be a considerable understatement-if the IMF can get their way."

ZAMBIA

Fincham, Robin. "Economic Dependence and the Development of Industry in Zambia." Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1980, pp. 297-313.

The author criticizes two other writers--Ann Seidman and M. R. Bhagavan--for saying that the Zambian Government has simply continued the structures that brought economic dependence under colonialism. The author believes that Zambians have asserted some control over various sectors and that Zambians have variable relations with foreign capital depending on changes in class relationships within Zambia.

ZIMBABWE

Gadza, Farayi. "Economic Realism." Commerce, September 1980, pp. 4-7.

Bernard Chidzero, the Zimbabwe Minister of Economic Planning and Development, is interviewed in this magazine published by the Zimbabwe Chamber of Commerce. He believes the economy is generally sound and quotes recent estimates by the Treasury predicting a four percent growth rate in real terms by the end of 1980. He says the government has not yet written a specific development strategy, but points out several priorities. They are the resettlement of refugees, rehabilitation of the economy and its reconstruction following the war, the concentration of effort to make the rural sector more productive than it is, the vigorous expansion of economic and social services like health, education and agricultural extension services, the reconstruction of the country's communications system and the injection of capital into development projects in mining, industry and rural development.

Hancock, I. R. "Against the odds: a triumph for the internal settlement in Rhodesia." Australian Outlook, August 1979, pp. 198-209. Reviewed in International Political Science Abstracts, Vol. 30, No. 4-5, abstracts on journals up to August, 1980, p. 1391.

A description of the "internal settlement" by which Bishop Abel Muzorewa was installed as Prime Minister written before the second elections had been set up to include the Patriotic Front.

Saul, John S. "Zimbabwe: The Next Round." Monthly Review, September, 1980, pp. 1-43.

The author uses a Marxist class analysis to study Zimbabwe since the election of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. He analyzes the role of the workers, peasants and bourgeoisie. He does not want to see a retrenchment of a privileged elite over the poverty-stricken masses and he believes socialism will stop such a retrenchment. He reserves judgment on Mugabe's government for the present.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in March 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Adekson, J. 'Bayo. "The 'Brawn' Versus 'Brain' Conflict in Contemporary African Civil-Military History and Thought." Plural Societies, Autumn/Winter 1979, pp. 3-20.

Explores the theoretical basis of the "brawn" versus "brain" debate in recruitment of officers in sub-Saharan Africa. Before World War II, the British preferred recruitment of "warlike" races into its African armies. After the war, Britain realized the value of having African officers with technical expertise, and changed its policy to recruit educated groups. This practice often resulted in racially imbalanced officer corps, as some tribes tended to be more Westernized than others. Case studies of Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda are used to highlight problems African nations have had in structuring their armed forces since independence.

Ayoob, Mohammed, ed. Conflict and Intervention in the Third World. New York: St Martin's, 1980, 261 pp. Reviewed in Foreign Affairs, Fall 1980, p. 224.

Up-to-date essays on conflicts in South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Horn and Southern Africa. Each is self-contained but all highlight the theme of the interaction of great power and Third World interests.

Darch, Colin. A Soviet View of Africa: An Annotated Bibliography on Ethiopia, Somalia, and Djibouti. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1980, 200 pp. Listed among source material received by Foreign Affairs, Fall 1980, p. 239.

"Kenya-Sudan Links Hailed by Presidents." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 19 December 1980, p. 17.

A favorable account of the extremely cordial meeting in Khartoum between Presidents Nimeiri and Moi in December 1980. Both leaders indicate a desire for closer Sudanese-Kenyan-Ethiopian cooperation.

Labrousse, H., Rear-Admiral. "Les Detroits Strategiques de l'Ocean Indien (The Strategic Straits in the Indian Ocean)." Freres D'Armes, November-December 1980, pp. 12-16.

Although dealing with the Indian Ocean in general, the article is weighted toward Africa and the Soviet-American rivalry. The Indian Ocean serves the United States as the avenue for importing several strategic minerals. The importance of Diego Garcia is underscored and contrasted to the Soviet im- placements at Aden and Socotra, which qualify only as support bases and resupply sites.

Ramaro, Elie. "Le Baton Du Gendarme (The Club of the Policeman)." Afrique-Asie, No. 232, March 1981, pp. 23-25.

The author sounds an alarm against the return of French imperialism in Africa. The Chad crisis, precipitated by Libyan expansion, has been used by

a pretext for beefing up its African military presence. The article catalogues recent French actions and provides a map showing French troop presence and numbers. Written from a leftist perspective, the article nonetheless provides valuable information. French troops are termed "very capable."

"Le Sahel Oublie (The Forgotten Sahel)." Europe Outremer, No. 609, October 1980, pp. 9-12.

The Sahel drought returned in force in 1980 after several years of abatement. The crisis has received little attention in a world preoccupied with the Iran-Iraq war, the Polish crisis and escalating inflation. The spectre of famine hangs over the Sahel countries again and instability threatens existing governments. The coups d'etat in Guinea-Bissau and Upper Volta resulted in large part from the drought. Food aid must be forthcoming and a campaign to inform the world of impending disaster must be intensified.

"Visit to Sudan: Date Confirmed." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 12 December 1980, pp. 15-16.

A superficial overview of the issues confronting Sudanese President Nimeiri and Kenyan President Moi at their upcoming 15-18 December 1980 meeting in Khartoum, the elections in Uganda and the possibility of expanded regional cooperation with Ethiopia in particular.

ANGOLA

Klinghoffer, Arthur J. The Angolan War: A Study in Soviet Policy in the Third World. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980. Reviewed in The Friday Review of Defense Literature, 13 February 1981, pp. 3-4.

The reviewer writes that Klinghoffer believes the United States and the USSR opted for extensive "involvement" in Angola because in that way their direct participation could be avoided and the conflict would be contained within Angola. Seeing Southern Africa as a future area of East/West confrontation, the Americans and the Soviets viewed Angola as a testing ground for future conflict and reacted largely to counter the perceived threat from the other.

Krakhmalov, S. P. Angola and Its Army (in Russian). Moscow: Voyenizdat, 1980, 96 pp.

This book presents an overview of the geographic, political, economic, historic, and demographic factors of Angola and their influence on the military. Of primary importance is the role which the Angolan armed forces play in defending the revolution.

Steele, Jonathan. "Angola: A Special Report." Guardian, 2 March 1981, pp. 11-17.

This special section was written mainly by Jonathan Steele, although other writers contributed. Separate articles cover agriculture, oil development, industry, medical care, education, transport, culture and foreign affairs. The many problems contributing to slow development are examined.

CHAD

Decalo, Samuel. "Chad: The Roots of Centre-Periphery Strife." African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 317, October 1980, pp. 491-509.

Although the author's prognosis has become irrelevant in view of the announced (and then denied) plans for the merger of Chad with Libya, his background to the Chad civil war or wars is valuable. As stated in the title, he uses a center-periphery argument to prove that French colonial policy ignored the outlying areas and permitted them to stagnate. These regions had been Muslim areas and were politically organized. The Sara, a people preyed on by Muslim neighbors, accepted French tutelage and dominated in postindependence Chad despite their minority status. Decalo helps dispel claims that Muslims do not constitute a majority in Chad. Christian elites dominate in the civil service, but claims of a Muslim North and Christian-animist South are questioned.

CONGO

"Republique populaire du Congo: Le centenaire de Brazzaville (People's Republic of the Congo: Brazzaville's Centennial)." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 112, November-December 1980, pp. 44-47.

In addition to a discussion of the history of Brazzaville, the article concluded with a two-page overview of the Congolese economy and a one-page discussion of the Congo's "rapprochement" with the West. Franco-Congolese relations are emphasized.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Meldrum, Andy. "Equatorial Guinea: A Halting Recovery." Africa News, 19 January 1981, pp. 9-11.

A brief overview of Equatorial Guinea's slow economic recovery since the overthrow of the Macias N'Guema dictatorship. The current regime "is hoping that the economic outlook may improve with the discovery of oil in Guinean waters."

GABON

"Gabon: Economic Realities." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 3 October 1980, pp. 21-22.

The subtitle of the article reads: "Thought being given to post-petroleum future." Gabon's current prosperity stems from oil ("which provides 70 percent of the national budget and 75 percent of Gabon's export revenues"). In addition to continuing the search for new oil fields, the Gabonese leadership is planning for the future. Massive amounts of current oil revenues are being spent to open up the interior of the country. Particular attention is being paid to the Trans-Gabon Railroad. Other natural resources (wood and minerals) will likely replace oil in the future as Gabon's economic backbone.

"Gabon: Visite officielle du President Bongo à Paris (30 Septembre-3 Octobre 1980) [Gabon President Bongo's Official Visit to Paris (30 September-3 October 1980)]." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 112, November-December 1980, p. 47-49.

A rather detailed account of discussions and activities of the four day visit. The article underscores the positive aspects of Gabonese-French relations over the years.

GUINEA-BISSAU

"Finding a blueprint for change." Africa, January 1981, pp. 25-26.

Contends that the new government in Guinea-Bissau which took over in November 1980 has no clear-cut policy for improving the economy or lifting the nation's "flagging spirits." Major Vieira's brilliance as a soldier may not be transferable to the administrative field.

LIBERIA

"Keep the Flag Flying." West Africa, 16 February 1981, pp. 307, 309, 311.

Begins with an examination of Liberia's status as a "flag of convenience" for maritime shipping. A more general discussion of the Liberian economy follows, touching on such topics as: the export of iron ore and rubber, debt rescheduling, oil prospecting and agricultural production. Concludes that Liberia deserves consideration from potential investors not frightened by the word "revolution."

"Testing time for Doe." Africa, January 1981, pp. 19-20.

Examines Liberia's severe economic disorders. The overall tone of the article is that Master Sergeant Doe and the People's Redemption Council are not helping matters by their incompetence. Liberia will have to rely on foreign assistance from the United States, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and possibly Libya, if it is to ride out its financial storm.

MALI

Martin, Nicolas. "Special Mali (Mali--A Special Article)." Revue Africaine de Stratégie, No. 4, December 1980, pp. 35-51.

Based on an interview with General Moussa Traore, the article lacks real facts. Much of what is said ignores the past and present and concentrates on future development. Includes photos.

MOZAMBIQUE

Azevedo, Mario J. "A Sober Commitment to Liberation? Mozambique and South Africa 1974-79." African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 317, October 1980, pp. 567-84.

A helpful cataloguing of the economic ties between Mozambique and South Africa. The author also shows how Mozambican rhetoric against apartheid has not been translated into cutting economic ties or planning armed intervention. He also shows how South Africa continues to promote economic ties. But the article was written before the recent South African raid into Mozambique to attack a post of the African National Congress and the consequent deterioration of political relations.

Isaacman, Allen and Isaacman, Barbara. "Mozambique: Creating a New Legal System." Africa Report, January-February, 1981, pp. 19-22.

Description of the legal system that relies on active participation of citizens in this Marxist-Leninist society. Lay persons are active as judges at the village level. At the district and provincial levels, at least one judge of a tribunal must have some legal training. The authors also describe "reeducation centers" that were established in "liberated zones" before independence and are now being phased out. They criticize Western press accounts alleging harsh conditions and brutality in the centers, which hold ex-secret police as well as petty criminals. The authors state that one camp they visited had no armed guards, no dogs, no barbed wire fences and no cells. Escape attempts were infrequent because the camp is so remote and nearby peasants report any escapees. The authorities reintegrate the inmates into society by providing literacy training and political education.

Vieira, Sergio. "Stage of Fundamental Changes." World Marxist Review, January 1981, pp. 15-20.

The author is a minister in the Mozambique government and a member of FRELIMO, the ruling Marxist-Leninist party. He lists seven areas of change that have pointed the country in the direction of true socialism.

NIGER

Higgott, Richard. "Structural Dependence and Decolonization in a West African Land-Locked State: Niger." Review of African Political Economy, No. 17, January-April 1980, pp. 43-59.

French colonial policy tied its colonial hinterlands to the coastal regions. Not only did the hinterlands subsidize the creation of infrastructure, railroads and ports, but interior peoples subsidized social services for coastal peoples. Niger was connected to Dahomey (Benin), but its reliance on France continued well after independence. However, France ceased to dominate exclusively as European Common Market countries increased trade and aid to Niger. Native political elites under President Diori Hamani interposed

themselves between the local economy and the international economy. Today Niger remains dependent, although the relationship and circumstances have changed. It remains beholden to international finance for the development of its uranium industry which is subject to market changes.

NIGERIA

"Nigeria: the president's men." Africa Confidential, 11 March 1981, pp. 1-2.

Contends that President Shagari is paying lip service to the "federal character" provisos of the Nigerian Constitution. Shagari has surrounded himself with a small coterie of northern Muslims who wield more real authority than the actual cabinet appointees. Likewise, in the military, the President overlooks the Yoruba chief of defense staff in favor of the Muslim heads of the army and air force and a few deputy chiefs. A similar situation exists in the President's National People's Party.

SENEGAL

"Des Phosphates aux Engrais: Naissance d'Une Grande Industrie Chimique (From Phosphates to Fertilizer: The Birth of a Large Chemical Industry)." Europe Outremer, No. 609, October 1980, pp. 25-27.

Senegal is experiencing a severe economic crisis due to drought and high petroleum prices. However, there is a bright spot on the horizon: the development of a chemical industry based on exploitation of phosphate deposits. A consortium of investors (including Ivory Coast and the Islamic Development Bank) will provide investment funds, and customers in India and Ivory Coast have guaranteed purchases and prices.

Diam, Alexandre, Captain. "La Marine Nationale Senegalese (The Senegalese National Navy)." Freres D'Armes, No. 107, November-December 1980, pp. 29-32.

The history of the Senegalese Navy from its inception as an arm of the French colonial navy to the present. More than 80 percent of the navy's functions deal with economic activities--largely surveillance of fishing grounds. However, the navy sees itself as important to the nation's defense.

SIERRA LEONE

Momah, Eddie. "Cracks in the wall." Africa, January 1981, pp. 33, 35.

Suggests that Sierra Leone's First Vice President, S. I. Koroma, has been dis missed for mishandling a student demonstration in November 1980 while President Stevens was abroad. Later evidence disproves this contention.

SOUTH AFRICA

"A Voice for Liberation." Southern Africa, January-February 1981, pp. 26-27, 29.

An interview with ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo who believes that his and other organizations have now convinced black South Africans of the inevitability of armed struggle. Downplaying the need for friendly neighboring states, Nzo states that "we are evolving a strategy and tactics whereby our military struggle must find root, and develop internally inside the country."

Branaman, Brenda. "South Africa: Issues For U. S. Policy." Issue Brief, No. IB80032, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, December 1980, 38 pp.

Reviews such issues as nuclear cooperation between the countries and the South African government's recent alleged reforms. Chronology and bibliography included.

"Front-Line States Fear 'Destabilization.'" Africa News, 23 February 1981, pp. 3-4.

South Africa's raid into Mozambique has heightened already present fears of black African states. Focuses upon the bombing of the house belonging to a lawyer closely associated with the African National Congress.

Cordimer, Nadine. A Soldier's Embrace. New York: Viking, 1980, 144 pp.

Thirteen short stories set against contemporary southern Africa. Presents the dilemma of many white African liberals: realizing the evil perpetrated on the blacks, yet often too socially and culturally tied to their own society to accomplish far-reaching changes. Both provocative and readable.

Hanks, Robert J. "Of Minerals, Metals, and US Foreign Policy." South Africa International, October 1980, pp. 91-101.

Worries that the Soviet Union is actively striving to cut the West off from Middle Eastern oil and southern African minerals, and that the US is not responding adequately to this threat. Proposes that the US encourage reform in South Africa through such inducements as increased US investment. Article assumes, without proving, that US security depends upon continued access to South Africa's minerals and that a black-run government would likely be Marxist and inclined to end US access.

Hauser, Rita E. "Israel, South Africa and the West." South Africa International, October 1980, pp. 81-90.

Examines the reasons for the entente cordiale between Israel and South Africa: "Israel's scarcity of raw materials, but a highly developed labour force, offers a perfect complement to South Africa's situation." Observing that both of these international pariahs are important to US security, Hauser

suggests that neither country will adopt needed internal reforms as long as they feel isolated. She believes that both Israel and South Africa would reform themselves if the US adopts a friendlier attitude towards them, and encourages their readmission into international bodies.

Hauser parenthetically hints that "Israel may soon license production of its Kfir jet airplane" in South Africa.

Kotze, D. A. African Politics In South Africa, 1964-1974. London: C. Hurst & Company, no date. Announced in South Africa International, Vol. 11, No. 3, January 1981, pp. 174-75.

The first comprehensive account of contemporary African participation in the political process in South Africa. While shedding some light on the relationship between official government policy and African aspirations, the book also describes black consciousness as an important reaction to government policy.

Kundu, Samarendra. "Southern African Liberation and India." Africa Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1978, pp. 20-23.

Places India behind the crusade for African majority rule, noting Gandhi's crusades in South Africa and then India's ongoing support in the United Nations. Worries that lately intra-African disputes have weakened the unity necessary to resolve "the real issues in Southern Africa."

Leonard, Richard. "Mobilizing For Total War." Southern Africa, January-February 1981, pp. 13-15.

Reviews the rapid buildup of manpower and budget increases for the South African Defense Force (in five years the budget tripled in size while manpower doubled). Despite increasing strength, the Defense Force is plagued by several possibly unsolvable problems: the migration of farmers away from the borders, a continuing manpower shortage, and perhaps extensive bribery of clerks by parents of conscripts.

Pahad, Essop. "Stay the Butcher's Hand." World Marxist Review, February 1981, pp. 70-71.

Appeals for a worldwide campaign to encourage the South African government to commute death sentences passed on various members of the African National Congress (ANC). Contends that since the ANC has signed the Geneva Conventions, the South African government should treat ANC prisoners as prisoners of war.

"Rustenburg Mines: Hell On Earth." Sechaba, October 1980, pp. 14-21.
A largely factual description of the working conditions of African miners at the Rustenberg platinum mines as well as an analysis of the power of the conservative white Mine Workers Union.

"The Roots of Total Strategy." Southern Africa, January-February 1981, pp. 10-12.

Fearing attacks from both outside and within its borders, the South African government has placed the country on a war footing. In a major political shift, the ruling Nationalist party united with industry to forge a new alliance. The political-industrial alliance established the National Key Points which makes owners of key industrial plants responsible for all required security precautions. A section of the article examines how "the majority of US corporations will be joined in a military alliance with the South African police force and army."

"Three Hundred Years of Resistance." Southern Africa, January-February 1981, pp. 23-25, 30.

Reviews the modern history of black nonviolence; from the founding of the ANC (African National Congress) in 1911, to the "Defiance Campaign" in 1952 and the Sharpeville protest in 1960. Examines the relative abilities of the South African government and black protest groups to affect present political stability. While obviously hostile to the Nationalist government, the article does question whether black city dwellers and rural blacks could overcome ethnic, social, and economic differences to form a common front against apartheid.

"Torture And Resistance." Sechaba, November 1980, pp. 9-18.

Details recent student and labor protests and the resulting police suppression. Believes that the often violent police reaction indicates growing panic within the government.

Venter, Al J. "Combat!" Scope, 13 March 1981, pp. 41-49.

A rare, yet largely uninformative narrative of a firefight in southern Angola between South African troops and PLAN (SWAPO guerrillas). In dispute with other recent accounts, Venter contends that South Africans have no desire to damage Angola in cross-border raids. Numerous photographs.

"Western Gunrunners." Southern Africa, January-February 1981, pp. 21-22.

Fairly standard review of the western role in South Africa's artillery and nuclear development. Notes that South Africa's war machine has several weak links (diesel and aircraft engine production) and that the war effort is placing a heavy burden on the economy.

Wilson, Francis; Kooy, Alide; and Hendrie, Delia, eds., Farm Labour In South Africa. Cape Town: David Phillip, 1977. Reviewed in Africa Today, 3rd Quarter, 1980, pp. 49-50.

Both historical and contemporary studies of a group that comprises over 15 percent of South Africa's black population and about 85 percent of all farm laborers in South Africa. Several microstudies "suggest a total lack of concerted action by farm workers; if a problem exists between the individual farm worker and his employer, he attempts to solve it by individual appeal to the employer. If this fails, the employee leaves. . ."

"Workers On The March." Sechaba, October 1980, pp. 11-13.

Interesting and fairly detailed study of recent strikes in South Africa. Of special importance is the description of labor conditions at the Secunda SASOL plant since the ANC bombing. Article also notes that such key points as the SASOL plants have been declared "operational areas."

SUDAN

"Sudan: Cultivate your own garden." The Economist, 7 February 1981, pp. 36-37.

The greatest danger facing Sudan today is not Libyan troops in Chad, rather it is the threat of Libya exploiting local discontent in the Sudanese province of Dafur. Conditions are reportedly "ripe" and could cause considerable trouble to the "distant" government in Khartoum. The author concludes that Sudanese President Nimeiri should tend to his own local problems rather than so vociferously denouncing Libyan involvement in Chad.

UGANDA

Gertzel, Cherry. "Uganda After Amin: The Continuing Search for Leadership and Control." African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 317, October 1980, pp. 461-89.

Concerned with the restoration of civilian rule in Uganda since the country's liberation from Amin's military rule in 1979. In a real sense, Uganda in 1979 was a "broken-backed state" after Amin's 8 years of arbitrary personal rule and his deposition by a foreign army. The author claims that the task of bringing order to Uganda has been difficult because the search for control is ultimately a search for a new moral basis for Ugandan society.

"Uganda: Minority Government," Africa Confidential, 11 February 1981, pp. 1-3.

In spite of the illegality surrounding President Obote's assumption of power, he is the leader most capable of restoring internal order in Uganda. This verdict was made by the Commonwealth Observer Group, which oversaw the election, and decided that to withhold sanctioning the election would only increase Uganda's turmoil.

ZAIRE

"Inauguration d'un reseau national de telecommunications par satellite (Inauguration of a national telecommunications system by satellite)." Europe Outremer, No. 609, October 1980, pp. 39-40.

A rather detailed article on the development of a telecommunications system in Zaire, including photos and an excellent map locating all of the major segments of the system. The article concludes with a brief summary of Franco-Zairian cooperation in the field of telecommunications.

ZIMBABWE

Ashton, Chris. "Deputy Minister Praises Private Sector." Commerce, December 1980, pp. 16-19.

Zimbabwe Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry Moses Mvengi speaks of policies to encourage new black businessmen as well as policies to build up the export sector. He believes businessmen should expect a "fair profit"--a term for which he provides no definition. He quotes Prime Minister Robert Mugabe on the general nature of the economy: the government "remains committed to a socialist egalitarian democratic state" but also believes that "private initiative and private enterprise have an assured and significant role to play in the economy."

Learmont, J. H., Brig. "Reflections from Rhodesia." Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, Vol. 125, No. 4, December 1980, pp. 47-55.

The author was deputy commander of the Monitoring Force sent to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia under the auspices of Great Britain to oversee the return of guerrillas after the Lancaster House agreement ending the civil war. He gives an extremely detailed report on the operation which lasted from December 1979 to March 1980.

Shreeve, Gavin. "Zimbabwe: Growth with equality or crisis of expectation?" Africa Economic Digest, 13 March 1981, pp. 2-10.

"Zimbabwe expects real growth to average 8 percent a year for 1981-84, but it faces an annual inflation rate of more than 15 percent and a current account balance of payments deficit averaging \$500 million a year." The article presents information on mining, manufacturing, tourism, agriculture and the economy in general. Manufacturing and agriculture were bright spots in 1980 while mining results did not live up to expectations.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in April 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Bennett, M. C. "Farming For Fuel. Some Economic Implications of Power Alcohol." Africa Agriculture, no. 1, 1981.

Notes the three most common benefits gained from regenerable fuel resources (foreign currency savings, increased control over fuel supplies, and stimulation of domestic agriculture), but also examines various problems associated with "agri-fuels" (pollution from distillation residue).

Chafik, Sobhi. "La Strategie Americaine de la chasse gardee--L'Elargissement du Dispositif (The American Game Preserve Strategy--The Widening of Troop Disposition)." Afrique-Asie, no. 230, 5 January 1981, pp. 17-19.

A cataloging of US and Soviet maneuvers and initiatives in the Western Indian Ocean. The importance of Egypt and Diego Garcia to American policy are underscored.

"Focus on Africa." OECD Observer, no. 108, January 1981, pp. 22-28.

Proposes that agriculture is at the core of Africa's development problems. Up to now development investment has not been as effective as it could be because of such factors as a population explosion, political complexities, and infrastructural gaps. The political complexities include fragmentation (for example, ethnic groups within national boundaries) and turbulence (such as coups and wars).

Lavrenic, Karl. "Let-down by Arab Magic Carpet Ride." West Africa, 6 April 1981, pp. 739-40.

Assesses the level of financial aid provided to Africa by the Khartoum-based Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA). Arab aid is small in size, though hardly negligible--\$4,367 million from 1973 to 1979. The author cautions against accepting BADEA figures on money committed, which often differs from actual disbursements. In fact, most concessional and non-concessional aid flows from Western sources.

Ofiaja, Nicholas D. Stability and Instability in Politics: The Case of Nigeria and Cameroon. New York: Vantage Press. Reviewed in Africa, no. 115, March 1981, p. 71.

The author sets out in search of the reason why Nigeria is politically restive while neighboring Cameroon is less so. He contends that the major difference lies in the fact that British colonial administrators allowed the Nigerians to develop distinctive authorities in their own regions. On the other hand, the German colonials in Cameroon established a very centralized administration. Professor Ofiaja, a Nigerian who teaches African history in the United States, concludes that "while Nigeria magnifies its ethnic differences, Cameroon by contrast has been able to contain its multiethnic problem."

ANGOLA

Fauvet, Paul. "Angola Set for Economic Recovery." Africa, no. 112, December 1980, pp. 86-98.

Details problems in the economic system, with increasing factory production, using oil profits to the best advantage, developing adequate transport networks and building agriculture. Fauvet writes the major article and Jane Bergerol contributes as well. The authors cite specific problems in various factories and give the government's approach to labor-management relations. Also reprinted is a speech by Manuel Pedro Pacavira, Minister for Agriculture and Member of the Central Committee of the MPLA--Workers' Party (Labour Party), given in London on 1 October 1980. He cites progress in Angola and attacks apartheid in South Africa.

CAMEROON

Kofele-Kale, Ndiva, ed. An African Experiment in Nation Building: The Bilingual Cameroon Republic Since Reunification. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980, 429 pp. Reviewed in The American Political Science Review, vol. 74 (1980), p. 1118.

The book brings together 15 different political scientists and economists, many of whom are African and Cameroonian, to create a dozen different essays dealing with the history, politics, economics, and society of the Cameroon Republic. One of the few English-language sources on Cameroon in the last decade.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

Alima, Jos-Blaise. "Personne ne croit plus au miracle (No One Believes in Miracles)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1041, 17 December 1980, pp. 38-39.

Fifteen months after the fall of Jean Bokassa, euphoria has been replaced with disenchantment. Many of the problems that plagued the former regime are still unsolved, such as the poor state of the economy. "In any event, everyone agrees on one point: the answer is not to be found in Bangui, but in Paris."

Forestier, Patrick. "Halte à Kadhafi (Stop Qadhafi)." Paris Match, 30 January 1981, pp. 56-61.

Brief article containing numerous good pictures concerning the French intervention force known as "Barracuda" in the Central African Republic (CAR). The French presence in the CAR is primarily directed defensively against Libyan troops in neighboring Chad.

CHAD

Alima, Jos-Blaise. "La Tentation Sécessionniste (The Secession Temptation)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1049, 11 February 1981, pp. 130-32.

Southern Chad maintained a semblance of government throughout the civil war. Colonel Wadel Abdelkader Kamougue, its leader, was a member of GUNT, the Transitional Government of National Union, but he maintained firm control over the south, the useful part of Chad. Now, the possibility of immense oil reserves makes the notion of secession even more attractive.

Loyzance, Tanguy. "Mythes et Realites (Myths and Realities)." Afrique Asie, no. 230, 5 January 1981, pp. 45-48.

An account of the last days of battle in N'Djamena. Anti-Habre in tone, the author disputes a claim that Goukouni and Kamougue are united with Qadhafi in a troika to rule the future Chad.

COMOROS

Delboulbes, Marie-Therese. "Une Douceur de Vivre Trompeuse (A Sweetness of Deceptive Life)." Le Continent, no. 109, 14 April 1981, p. 4.

The Comoros sit at the entrance of the Mozambique Channel and give the false appearance of idyllic tropical islands. Under constant threat of reversal of government, the Comoros exist under subsidies from France which retained one of the islands at the time of independence. The new republic suffers from the memory of the takeover by foreign mercenaries who still train the presidential security force. Poverty and overpopulation (in spite of high mortality from virulent malaria) represent the reality of life in Comoros.

ETHIOPIA

"Arab States Declare Support for Eritrea." Gulf States, 8 March 1981, pp. 2-3.

One of the unpublicized results of the Islamic Summit meeting in Taif in February was a new initiative to find peace in Eritrea. Gulf states, notably Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), have been at the forefront of attempts to bring together rival liberation groups in Eritrea, particularly the main three: the radical socialist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the doctrinaire Marxist Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), and the more opportunist Eritrean Liberation Front--Popular Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF) which Saudi Arabia and the UAE happen to favor. The Islamic Summit voted to set up a special committee with an independent secretariat to monitor the situation in Eritrea. Predictably, this initiative has not been welcomed by the regime in Addis Ababa.

Barbee, Lynne. "Letter from the Horn." Merip Reports, November/December 1980, pp. 28-29.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which has operated out of Sudan in the past, is confident that Sudan will not alter its policy of offering facilities to the Eritrean movement despite the improvement in Ethiopian-Sudanese relations. Sudan still serves as a transit point for food, medical supplies, and some medical equipment. There is no evidence to support Ethiopian claims that Sudan has agreed to deny Eritrean access to Port Sudan docking facilities, or to close the Eritrean political offices.

Brittain, Victoria. "Ethiopia Eludes Moscow in a Savile Row Suit." The Guardian (London), 22 March 1981, p. 8.

In this journalist's opinion, the socialist reforms enacted in Ethiopia since the revolution have been received very well by the populace and the bureaucracy, but that the accompanying ideology should be regarded as only a veneer on the society. The author also has some pertinent comments on the political basis of the ruling dergue and its civilian-oriented successor, the COPWE (Commission to Organize an Ethiopian Worker's Party).

"The Horn: Rumbplings in Every Camp." Africa Confidential, 11 March 1981, pp. 5-6.

The military position of the central government in Ethiopia has improved recently in Eritrea and along the Somali border as a result of an influx of arms, especially the HIND helicopter, from the Communist Bloc. The Ethiopian Government, however, is still under military pressure in Tigre.

GABON

Barouhi, Abdelaziz. "La plus puissante station d'Afrique (The Most Powerful Station in Africa)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1051, 25 February 1981, p. 65.

A one-page article discussing various aspects of the most powerful radio transmitting station in Africa, Radio Africa Number 1. The station has been broadcasting from Moyabi, Gabon, since 7 February 1981. Radio Africa Number 1, a joint Gabonese-French project, has four 500 kW transmitters and 22 antennae.

GHANA

"Ghana: A Bottomless Pit?" Africa Confidential, 8 April 1981, pp. 1-4.

An extremely negative evaluation of Ghana's long-term stability prospects which questions whether President Limann will be renominated to run in 1983, and, if a candidate, doubts he can win. For the Limann administration to last until 1983, an agreement with the International Monetary Fund is "imperative." This will require the unpopular act of devaluation of the cedi, the unit of currency. Limann, however, may now be on the brink of taking this political risk. Comments briefly on the military, mentioning that officers of middle rank and above are demoralized and their relations with the lower ranks range from distant to poor.

Provencal, H. S. T. "Who's Afraid of Nkrumahism?" West Africa, 16 March 1981, pp. 550-54.

A lengthy rebuttal by the chairman of the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards, a left-leaning faction of the People's National Party. The author attacks a three-part discussion which appeared in West Africa in December 1980 in which the general-secretary of the PNP defended his party's adherence to Nkrumahist dogma. Provencal refutes this, claiming that the PNP leadership is reactionary and betrays Nkrumah ideology.

"State Ownership in Ghana." West Africa, 30 March 1981, pp. 681, 683-85.

An indictment of state-owned enterprises in Ghana in which the author contends that these corporations should be offered for sale to the public under strict guidelines. Several instances of government mismanagement are cited in support of this argument.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Chabal, Patrick. "National Liberation in Portuguese Guinea." African Affairs (January 1981), pp. 75-99.

This commentary on the liberation of Guinea-Bissau stresses the role of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and its founder, Amilcar Cabral. Of interest is a brief discussion of the military arm of PAIGC during the liberation war against Portugal. No mention is made of the mestizo-black cleavage in political leadership which contributed to the November 1980 coup in Guinea-Bissau.

LIBERIA

Beawogi, J. G. "PRC Rebuffs Dock Workers." Africa News, 23 February 1981, pp. 7-8, 11.

When Liberian Head of State Master Sergeant Samuel Doe dismissed 450 striking dock workers in February 1981, he demonstrated that he was in charge of the government and assured investors that Liberia is free from labor unrest. Briefly mentioned are two antigovernment groups--Safe Liberia, led by Jason Mason, and the Committee for a Free and United Liberia, headed by James Hill.

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "Liberia One Year After the Coup." West Africa, 13 April 1981, pp. 785-87.

A denunciation of the People's Redemption Council (PRC). Despite minor shifts (removal of the hut tax, for instance), PRC policies have largely been a continuation of those of the defunct True Whig Party. The author wonders if a new repressive elite (the army) has not replaced an old elite (the Americo-Liberians).

Carlisle, Rodney. "Liberia's Flag of Convenience: Rough Water Ahead." Orbis (Winter 1981), pp. 881-91.

Describes in general Liberia's position as a haven for ship registry in light of the April 1980 coup d'etat. Of particular interest is that in October 1973 during the Yom Kippur War, the late President Tolbert prohibited the transport of arms to Israel aboard Liberian-registered ships. Although this directive was quickly revised, "The event . . . weakened support for the flag-of-convenience system among American military men." For its part, Liberia seeks to reconcile the needs of the Group of 77, the transnational oil companies, and its own interests.

Fadugba, Nick. "The Baptism of Fire." Africa, April 1981, pp. 22-24.

Surveys the "teething" problems of the Liberian People's Redemption Council (PRC), citing its internal disorganization, internecine quarreling, and contradictory actions. In spite of setbacks, the Liberian revolution is making progress. Followed by a brief and rather uninformative interview with Liberian Head of State Master Sergeant Samuel Doe.

MADAGASCAR

Langlier, Jean-Pierre. "Madagascar: La Revolution Essoufflee (Madagascar: The Revolution Out of Breath)." Le Monde, 4 April 1981, p. 5.

The first part of a long examination of current conditions in Madagascar. Contradictions and lack of clarity mark the political and economic scene in Madagascar. The leftward push of the revolutionary government of President Ratsiraka has run out of gas and the economy of the island republic suffers. Recent demonstrations demand a redress. In spite of difficulties, the Ratsiraka regime has no serious rivals, no alternative exists, and the army and other elements are fragmented.

NIGERIA

Adepoju, Aderanti. "Military Rule and Population Issues in Nigeria." African Affairs (January 1981), pp. 29-47.

Nigeria has never had an accurate population count and is not likely to conduct one in the near future. The question of a census is a sensitive one touching ethnic, political, and economic nerves: it forms the basis for political representation and revenue allocation. A census was last attempted in 1973 by the Gowon military government. Its results, however, suggested widespread falsification biased in favor of the northern states, and many believed that it was responsible for Gowon's overthrow. The military regime which replaced Gowon nullified this census. In addition, the article discusses the colonial history of vital statistics in Nigeria and suggests policies aimed at undertaking an accurate census.

"Nigeria: Keeping Balance." Africa Confidential, 11 February 1981, pp. 3-4.

Assesses current politics in Nigeria. President Shagari is proving himself a skillful manager and deft administrator. While the opposition parties are in disarray, Shagari's National People's Party (NPN) is stronger than ever. "One unfortunate side effect of the Kano (riots of December 1980) is that they may give some army officers a sense of superiority over the political leadership."

"Nigeria: A Special Report." The Guardian, 30 March 1981, pp. 11-20.

A supplement on Nigeria containing diverse articles by various authors. Subjects covered include politics, industry, oil, foreign trade, banking, foreign policy, and economics.

Okoli, Enukora Joe. "Causes of NPN and NPP Discord." West Africa, 16 March 1981, pp. 539-40.

Summarizes the points of contention which threaten to dissolve the accord between the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP). Conflict has centered on cabinet appointments, the question of presidential liaison officers, and the Revenue Allocation Bill. Recent defections by NPP members to the NPN have worsened relations.

Olutola, Aderemi. "Education and Elections in Nigeria." The Round Table (January 1981), pp. 70-82.

Examines the role education played in the 1979 federal elections in Nigeria. The education policies adopted by each of the five political parties are discussed and the election results analyzed. No relationship is found between level of education in a particular region and voting behavior. The better educated south tended to vote "en bloc for the 'party-of-the-soil' candidates more than voters from the educationally backward states."

Panter-Brick, Keith. "Scandal of FEDECO's Inaccuracies." West Africa, 9 March 1981, pp. 477-79, 481.

An extremely critical account of the Federal Electoral Commission's report on the 1979 Nigerian federal elections. The author cites numerous mistakes and inaccuracies in the report and questions how the Commission could have allowed so flawed a document to be released. Considering the sensitivity of the election results in Nigeria, this article and the Commission's report are certain to arouse spirited reactions in Nigeria.

RWANDA

Levesque, A. Contribution to the National Bibliography of Rwanda, 1965-1970. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979, 542 pp. 4535 entries. Reviewed in African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 318 (January 1981), pp. 146-47.

"This volume consists of all titles published in Rwanda for the period as well as those published in francophone journals available there. The growing literature in other languages, including English, is ignored." Levesque calls this a "useful but limited tool."

SENEGAL

"Senegal: Diouf's Multi-Party Ploy." Africa Confidential, vol. 22, no. 5, 25 February 1981, pp. 3-4.

The new directions and initiatives of the Diouf government seek to introduce more democracy and discussion into the Senegalese political scene. However, by legalizing all political expression, the left in Senegal will be further fragmented. Diouf's greatest test will come in turning the Senegalese economy around from the mess he inherited from Senghor.

SIERRA LEONE

"Opposition Slams Stevens." New African, December 1980, pp. 37-38.

Reports on Sierra Leonean President Siaka Stevens' trip to London where the Sierra Leone Alliance Movement (SLAM), a new opposition group to Stevens' ruling All People's Party (APC), has been formed. Links between SLAM and the US-based anti-APC organization, National Alliance Party (NAP), are examined. Includes a short description of the November 1980 student disorders in Sierra Leone.

"Rumblings From Within and Without." Africa, December 1980, pp. 30-32.

Brief discussion of Sierra Leone's internal problems which include student demonstrations and an antigovernment exile organization, the National Alliance Party, headed by Ted Roberts. One of several "negative" articles on Sierra Leone which have appeared in this magazine in the last few months.

"Stevens' Critics Threatened by Press Curbs." Africa News, 2 February 1981, pp. 3-4, 10.

A sympathetic treatment of the tribulations of the Freetown-based Tablet, the only newspaper in Sierra Leone which is not government controlled. The new Press Law, however, threatens to force the Tablet out of business. While editor Pious Foray is confident that the Tablet can overcome the strictures of the Press Law, an outstanding libel suit against the paper is a more worrisome proposition.

SOMALIA

Payton, Gary D. "The Somali Coup of 1969: the Case for Soviet Complicity." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 3 (1980), pp. 493-508.

The author concludes that there is a lack of evidence to support the contention that the USSR orchestrated the October 1969 coup d'etat by Siad Barre. Such a conclusion, he states, would deny the important role played by Major General Siad Barre and grossly overestimate the capacity of Soviet covert intelligence operations. The evidence does support, however, the hypothesis that a "coincidence of interests" did exist between the aspirations of an African nationalist leader and the strategic objectives of the USSR.

"Somalia: Victory Conceded." The Economist, 28 February 1981, pp. 34-35.

It is the belief of this magazine's special correspondent that Somalia has more or less given up its war against Ethiopia for possession of the Ogaden. A few months ago Somalia began withdrawing its army units from this region because of the opposition's military superiority and because it was denied its supply of oil from Iraq due to the Gulf War. In addition, Somalia has been weakened by the taxing influx of refugees from the war-torn Ogaden, a situation made worse by a record drought.

SOUTH AFRICA

Bailey, Martin. "Who Fuels Apartheid?" Africa, April 1981, pp. 43-45.

While noting that the present OPEC oil embargo against South Africa is "far from effective," Bailey blames the international oil companies more than OPEC nations. Basing his report on the Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau, Bailey includes a chart of Netherlands connected ships visiting South Africa recently. Bailey concludes that a total oil embargo could work--despite the unimpressive sanctions record against Rhodesia--and that most black states usually dependent on South Africa for oil shipments could obtain the oil elsewhere.

"Black Labor in South Africa." Lincoln Review (Winter 1980), pp. 33-41.

In this interview, Lucy Mvubelo, a veteran black union official, cautions against an economic withdrawal from South Africa, and believes that political evolution has occurred in South Africa and "has accomplished a great deal."

"A Botha Of Another Kind." New African, December 1980, pp. 20-21.

Reviews the recent history of labor organizer Thozamile Botha, who led the successful strike at Ford's Port Elizabeth plant. Botha rejects the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Sullivan codes of conduct as "just a sham. We want the abolition of the apartheid system, not just a few reforms."

"The Cracking of South Africa's Glacier." The Economist, 28 March 1981, pp. 39-40.

A short, provocative article that suggests South Africa's "political divide is beginning to run less along traditional language-group lines and more along ideological ones." Recent Rhodesian emigres are supporting the traditionally conservative Nationalist Party while "a small but significant number of Afrikanders" have moved toward the liberal Progressive Federal Party. The article believes that since Prime Minister Botha has run a right-wing campaign, he will find it difficult afterwards to claim that he has been given a mandate for reform.

Dodd, Colonel Norman L. "South African Operations and Deployments in South West Africa/Namibia." The Army Quarterly (July 1980), pp. 291-300.

Recently returned from operational areas in Namibia, Colonel Dodd gives a reasonably objective and quite informative breakdown on present South African military strategy.

Frankel, Philip. "The Dynamics of a Political Renaissance: The Soweto Students Representative Council." Journal of African Studies (Winter 1980), pp. 167-80.

A thoughtful article in which Frankel suggests that the campaigns waged by the Soweto Students Representative Council during 1976 and 1977 have substantially altered black methods of protest and black attitudes toward the South African Government. Evaluates the successes and failures of the Council.

Groenewald, Coen. "Full Fathoms Five." Panorama, January 1981, pp. 34-37.

Describes the South African navy's scuba units and the navy's diving school at Simon's Town. Pictures included.

Rogers, Barbara. "The Nuclear Threat From South Africa." Africa, January 1981, pp. 45-47.

Believes that "the prospects of tactical nuclear warfare being introduced . . . in southern Africa are uncomfortably high." Rogers and others believe that South Africa's new 155-mm howitzer was responsible for the 1979 nuclear blast. Rogers examines South Africa's possible delivery systems ("the latest Mirage jets from France with missiles on board specifically designed for delivering a nuclear warhead"), some of which she contends could reach Nigeria and Libya. Finally, Rogers suggests the existence of Israeli aid in developing South Africa's "blitzkrieg" raiding ability into Angola as well as "Israeli expertise in missile technology and (target) programming."

Sanctions Working Group. "Toward An Effective Oil Embargo of South Africa." Monthly Review, December 1980, pp. 58-62.

Reviews recent embargo actions taken by such nations as Nigeria and Kuwait against South Africa and then suggests that Third World governments should create a system to monitor tanker movements to South Africa as well as introduce "a range of penalties and actions" against companies supplying South Africa.

Serfontein, Hennie. "Press War in South Africa." Africa, February 1981, pp. 64-65.

Reviews the recent strike of black journalists who succeeded in having the Argus and SAAN newspaper chains recognize their all-black union, MWASA (Media Workers Association of South Africa). MWASA is "part of the recent trend in Black Consciousness movements . . . to open ranks to the ordinary workers . . . (and) to build up a united Black front."

Serfontein, Hennie. "Too Little Changes Too Late." Africa, January 1981, pp. 37-38.

Criticizes three government-drafted bills as aiding only modestly the plight of urban blacks while preventing more effectively than before the chances of black migration into the cities.

TANZANIA

Ergas, Zaki. "Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail?--Towards a Global Analysis." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 3 (1980), pp. 387-410.

It is now generally acknowledged, 13 years after its inception, that the policy of creating ujamaa villages has failed in terms of what they had been designed to achieve, namely, the building of a socialist society in the rural

areas of Tanzania where more than 90 percent of the population lives. The author concludes that the policy failed because of four internal causes: (1) the exploitation and domination of the poor peasantry by the bureaucrats and the rich capitalist farmers; (2) the inadequate endowment of the poor peasantry in skills and education; (3) the myth according to which communal traditions favored socialism; and, (4) the great food shortage which hit the country between 1973-75.

ZAIRE

"Zaire: Woes of a Debtor." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 30 January 1981, pp. 37-38.

Subtitled "Economic Recovery Moves at a Snail's Pace," this article is a general overview of Zaire's current budgetary problems and the stringent conditions placed on Zaire in return for additional funding by the International Monetary Fund.

ZAMBIA

Beveridge, Andrew A. and Oberschall, Anthony R. African Businessmen and Development in Zambia. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. Reviewed by Robin Palmer in African Affairs (January 1981), pp. 147-48.

Based on interviews with Zambian businessmen during 1970-72. Marketeers, small retailers, men with large businesses in urban areas, and small businessmen in rural areas were interviewed. One pattern that developed is that success is not based on religion, ethnicity, or family, but on successful innovation and management.

Todd, Dr. David M. "The Informal Sector and Zambia's Employment Crisis." Journal of Modern African Studies (September 1980), pp. 411-25.

The informal sector is "ill-suited to accommodate the annual supply of 22,000 new urban job seekers, most of whom will be young people, with some education, but without the savings, work experience, or urban business contacts necessary to successfully enter the informal sector." Since unemployment then will grow in this sector, the Zambian Government should initiate pilot projects and launch other policy initiatives.

ZIMBABWE

Davis, John. "Economy: Situation and Outlook." Commerce, January 1981, pp. 11-13.

The author believes consumer spending will increase in 1981, and a rapid expansion of the economy will be accompanied by record inflation. He cites a predicted budget deficit in part because of high oil prices as the main problem in 1981.

Linden, Ian. The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe. Longmans, 1980.
Reviewed by Adrian Hastings in African Affairs (January 1981), pp. 148-49.

Despite the close collaboration with the colonial interest, the church in the 1960s and 1970s came out more and more forcefully to defend the black point of view. The author shows the various conflicting forces within the church: the bishops, various missionary societies with their different national and social backgrounds, African priests, white urban laity, special organizations, and pressure groups all pulling different ways. "It is very much a book about white people, their beliefs, conflicts, and posturings. Zimbabweans are seldom mentioned," according to the reviewer. He praises the book as demonstrating the complexity in the Catholic Church in pre-1980 Zimbabwe and its relation to the country's politics.

Matatu, Godwin. "Zimbabwe: Revolution and Restraint." Africa, no. 116, April 1981, pp. 18-21.

Progress has been evident during the first year of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's rule. The author gives important details on the disturbances in the army in October and February, and believes that strong action taken by Mugabe to stop the fighting and a conciliatory approach by rival Joshua Nkomo have eased the situation. The economy has grown and the most important future program is a planned resettlement scheme.

Palley, Claire. "What Future for Zimbabwe?" The Political Quarterly, vol. 51, no. 3 (July-September 1980), pp. 285-302.

In discussing the first few months of power of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the author points out that the strong constitutional structure decided on at Lancaster House will help to build stability. She also describes the nature of Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) as a mass party without effective organization. She warns about conflict with Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

"Reports of the Freedom House Observer Team: The Common Role Election in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), February 1980." World Affairs, vol. 143, no. 1 (Summer 1980), pp. 85-120.

A report of the four-member observer team on the election that catapulted Prime Minister Robert Mugabe to power. The team reports that "although political leaders were not given a fully fair chance to achieve electoral success, the electoral result will approximately represent the distribution of current political force within Zimbabwe's black population." An appendix contains an interim report by Sir John Boynton, the British Election Commissioner, and a study by M. W. Murphree entitled, "Voting for White Seats in the February 1980 Elections."

"Zimbabwe's First Year Confounds the Prophets." Africa Economic Digest, 17 April 1981, pp. 28-29.

Brief summary of the economy during the first year under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The year was marked by rapid economic growth culminating in an offer by the international community of \$1.2 billion to help in a rural reconstruction program. The prediction of a breakdown in public order did not occur even though there is continuing friction between army factions loyal to Mugabe and Minister Joshua Nkomo.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY-OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in May 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Adamolebun, Lapido. "Co-operation or Neocolonialism--Francophone Africa." Africa Quarterly (July 1978), pp. 34-50.

An interesting examination of the relationship between France and its former colonies, providing a historical perspective of French-African cooperation. France's financial, cultural, and technical aid is considered. Although the neocolonialism/cooperation issue is never fully resolved, the author admits that while "African states benefited more from the independence cooperation agreements than was the case during the colonial era, the advantages that accrued to France were much more substantial." (This 1978 volume was received by the Library of Congress in September 1980.)

Carim, Enver. "The Microchip in Africa--Vital for Efficiency." Africa Economic Digest, 27 March 1981, pp. 2-5.

Computer use is expanding throughout Africa, however at present it is mostly restricted to government agencies and parastatal corporations. There is no mention of the level of foreign involvement in operating and managing the systems, nor is there any specific reference to computer applications in defense.

"Economic Cooperation and Trade: East and Central Africa: Transport Talks." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 February - 14 March 1981, pp. 5828-29

Transport and communications ministers from Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire met in Arusha, Tanzania, on 17 February 1981 and agreed to work toward the creation of a "central transportation corridor" linking their countries with the Indian Ocean. They also agreed that major interstate transport schemes should be given first priority in order to boost interregional economic cooperation.

Francis, Major P. "West Africa Command!" The Army Quarterly and Defense Journal (July 1980), pp. 312-18.

An unconvincing plea for a unified West African defense force to combat "the surge of Communist influence" in Africa. Francis is overly optimistic about West African military capabilities and tends to ignore some of the more serious problems involved in the establishment of such a regional force.

Momoh, Eddie. "Another Testing Time." Africa, May 1981, pp. 31-32.

Speculates on the May 1981 meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). A major issue will be the ongoing debate on a defense pact for the region. An eight-nation committee tasked last year to examine the defense proposal will submit its report. Mali, Benin, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau are known to be strongly opposed to a defense treaty. Nigeria and Senegal will press for a pact and be joined by Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, and Sierra Leone. Their concern is partly in response to Libyan adventurism.

Park, Sang-Seek. "Leadership Change and Foreign Policy Behavior in Black Africa." Journal of African Studies (Fall 1980), pp. 138-43.

Uses United Nations General Assembly voting records of African states on certain issues transcending the period 1957 to 1975 to test four hypotheses linking foreign policy behavior and leadership change. Concludes that there is little correlation between voting and leadership change. Questionable methodology and confusing tables.

Plommer, Leslie. "Peace Soundings in the Horn of Africa." The Times (London), 2 May 1981, p. 6.

Attempts are underway to bring Somalia and Ethiopia together at a regional conference to negotiate a settlement to their territorial dispute. There is wide public support in Somalia for a reconciliation with Ethiopia but any peace talks will depend on what the Ethiopians are willing to do. If the Ethiopians are willing to settle with Somalia, a precedent will have been established in the eyes of the Eritreans, Oromos, and Tigreans, who also have disputes with the central government in Addis Ababa.

BENIN

"Benin: Keeping the Lid On." Africa Confidential, 6 May 1981, pp. 4-5.

Describes recent factional strife which has further weakened the already shaky Beninese Government. Provides a rundown of these factions, their ideologies, and important political actors.

CHAD

"Chad: Shock Waves Still Spreading." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-28 February 1981, pp. 5965-67.

Libyan military involvement in Chad not only tipped the balance in favor of Coukouni Weddeye but threatens to destabilize the entire West and Central African region. Egyptian and Sudanese hatred of Qadhafi borders on hysteria, as Sudan fears Libyan exploitation of internal problems. Even Saudi Arabia fears backing the Sudanese in a conflict which has a potential for widespread repercussions.

COMORO ISLANDS

Langellier, Jean-Pierre. "L'Art et les Risques de Vivre au-dessus de ses moyens (The Art and Risks of Living Beyond One's Means)." Le Monde, 25 April 1981, p. 5.

The Comoros, with a population of over 300 inhabitants to each cultivatable square hectare, waits for an explosion. Traditional patterns are rapidly disappearing, and for the better educated emigration appears as the only option to smothering. France, the former colonial master, subsidizes the economy through 86 technical assistants and guarantees the security of the Islands in exchange for naval facilities.

DJIBOUTI

Hancock, Graham. "Refugees in an Impoverished Land." The Guardian (London), 3 April 1981, p. 11.

Sandwiched between Somalia and Ethiopia, Djibouti is an important enclosure at the southern neck of the Red Sea. Its key strategic position has made it the focus of substantial aid and goodwill from the West and from conservative, oil-rich Arab states determined to see that Djibouti does not join Ethiopia and South Yemen in the Soviet camp. In this regard, Saudi Arabia seems determined to help maintain Djibouti's sovereignty and also to play a role in reducing internal tensions by building up the economy. In the Saudi view, a peaceful and prosperous Djibouti on speaking terms with all its neighbors will not only stay out of the Soviet camp but will also play a positive part in counteracting the Soviet Union's activities in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

GABON

"Gabon: Budget (1981)." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 December 1980 - 14 January 1981, p. 5779.

A rather detailed accounting of Gabon's FY1981 revenues and expenditures totaling about 404.5 billion CFA francs (approximately 8.1 billion French francs).

GUINEA

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Changement au Compte-Gouttes (A Tiny Bit of Change)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1055, 25 March 1981, pp. 24-26.

The February attempt on the life of President Sekou Toure was the work of professionals of the mysterious Patriotic Front. Toure claims to have decolonized the country mentally and spiritually, but Guinea has advanced little since independence. Commerce is at a standstill and the cities are quiet and vacant. The rural exodus, so overwhelming in neighboring countries has not touched Guinea. Toure now promises an economic revolution, but it may already be too late.

KENYA

Hazelwood, A. The Economy of Kenya: The Kenyatta Era. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, 231 pp. Reviewed by Diana Hunt in International Affairs (Winter 1980/81), pp. 185-86.

"After a brief review of the colonial inheritance and an overview of growth performance and structural change from 1963-1977, the bulk of the book concentrates upon a more detailed examination of the performance of the individual sectors followed by two chapters on 'government and the economy' and on 'inequality, poverty, and progress'. The book is written by a witty and astute economist with a knack for spotting weaknesses in accepted interpretations of statistical data. Nevertheless, there is a preponderance of fact over analysis."

MADAGASCAR

Althabe, Gerard. "Strikes, Urban Mass Action and Political Change: Tananarive 1972" in Cohen R., et. al. African Labor History, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978, pp. 205-43.

A comprehensive study of the events which led to the overthrow of the pro-French government of Philbert Tsiranana and the composition of the society which determined its outcome. Althabe denies the importance of ethnicity and places greater importance on the evolution of class structure. Relevant to today's Madagascar and its difficulties.

Kouhil, A. "Madagascar: Un Pays en Mutation (Madagascar: A Country in Change)." El-Djeich (Algiers), no. 215, April 1981, pp. 17-26.

A discussion of the accomplishments of the "revolution" in Madagascar following 1975. None of the difficulties--economic, political or social --encountered or engendered by President Ratsiraka's socialism is discussed or analyzed.

MALI

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Un Coup Pour Rien (A Try For Naught)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1051, 25 February 1981, pp. 46-47.

President Moussa Traoure promised to reform his party and the country's economy. To do this, the state enterprises had to be curtailed and their employees cutback. His attempts failed as the state bourgeoisie proved impossible to budge.

MAURITIUS

"Mauritius: A Special Report." The Guardian (Manchester), 26 March 1981, pp. 25-27.

Suddenly placed in the forefront of big power confrontation, the republic of Mauritius is being courted by both the Soviets and Americans. With an economy based almost entirely on sugar, the overcrowded island faces 48 percent annual inflation and burgeoning population growth. The British Royal Navy, once the dominant force in the area, is seldom seen as Soviet, American, and French ships seek this island paradise port of call.

NIGER

Diallo, Siradiou and Hubscher, Francoise. "La Parole Est Au. . . Niger: Vers Une Nouvelle Societe (The Word Is Out on Niger: Towards a New Society)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1058, 15 April 1981, pp. 41-56.

A long, laudatory article which catalogs the achievements of Niger in achieving food self-sufficiency and using its mineral wealth wisely. President Seyni Kountche is interviewed about Niger's ethnic policy and Libyan hegemony.

NIGERIA

Pribitkovsky, L. N. "Military Rule in Nigeria: 1966-1979" (in Russian). Peoples of Asia and Africa (Moscow), no. 6 (1980), pp. 37-45.

This article examines the period of military rule in Nigeria.

SENEGAL

Cras, Bernard. "Le Dossier du Mois--L'Assistance Militaire Technique (The Dossier of the Month--Technical Military Assistance)." Armees D'Aujourd'hui, no. 45, November 1980, pp. 54-55.

French assistance to the Senegalese Navy continues while the Senegalese expand surveillance of their coasts and ocean limits. The evolution of the navy and its composition are highlighted. Numbers of ships and trainees in foreign countries are provided.

SOUTH AFRICA

Danaher, Kevin. "Sanctions Against South Africa: Strategy for the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the 1980's." Ufahamu (Fall and Winter, 1980-1981), pp. 5-18.

Presents a simplified class analysis of South Africa and then notes various reasons why the American public and government remain reluctant to combat apartheid.

Nzo, Alfred. "South Africa: Imperialist Maneuvering and the Tide of Liberation." Ufahamu (Fall and Winter, 1980-1981), pp. 19-24.

The Secretary General of the African National Congress states that the "racist-imperialist alliance," of which the United States is a part, will never deviate from its support of South Africa. Nzo claims that in 1976, 59 percent of white South African youth called for military service refused induction.

Streek, Barry. "Whites Prepare to Vote." Africa News, 20 April, 1981, pp. 3-5, 9.

Examines the possible effect that inflation and proposed racial reforms may play in the April 29th election. Also looks at the growing schisms in the ruling Nationalist Party.

Stultz, Newell M. "Foreign Pressures On South Africa." American Universities Field Staff Reports, no. 5 (1981).

Stultz examines various political, economic, and military pressures which could be used against South Africa. Finding them lacking, he notes that such proposals as economic withdrawal would increase the South African Government's domestic support, would not seriously damage her economy, but could weaken Britain and possibly other Western nations.

Taylor, David. "Israel-South Africa Nuclear Link Exposed." The Middle East, April 1981, pp. 27-30.

Provocative article detailing the Space Research Corporation's \$50 million channelling of extended range full bore (ERFB) 155-mm projectiles, 60 155-mm howitzers, and advanced howitzer technology to South Africa. Taylor maintains that the "Vela blast" was a test firing of a nuclear warhead from a 155-mm howitzer.

SUDAN

"Fear of increased Arab divisions as Sudan Offers Military Facilities to the US and Qadhafi Goes to Moscow." The Arab World Weekly, 21 March 1981, pp. 3-4.

Sudan's offer of military facilities to the United States and Libya's close ties to the USSR are "considered by Arab observers as being" important steps in the "steady" division of the Arab world into pro-West and pro-East camps.

"Regionalism Comes to Stay." Africa, no. 112, December 1980, pp. 35-36.

In October 1980, a bill legalizing "a regional system of government in the Sudan" was endorsed by the Council of Ministers in Khartoum. The bill will become law after it passes the People's National Assembly. The regions are Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern, Kordofan, and Darfur, and Khartoum Province (comprising the towns of Khartoum, Omdurman, and Khartoum North). The new emphasis on "regions" will weaken the powers now held by the central government in Khartoum, as laws passed by the National Assembly will have to be approved by the regional assemblies before they are binding on the regions. But President Nimeiri has the sweeping power to dissolve the elected assemblies. He also appoints the governors and regional ministers (five in each region) and has the power to dismiss any Speaker of a regional assembly. In addition, regional authorities are barred from dealing with national defense, security, foreign affairs, transregional water resources, currency, national economic, and underground wealth, etc.

The critically important Southern Region will watch to see exactly what the other regions are accorded as far as regional independence is concerned.

"Sudan: Trying Time for Nimeiri." Africa, no. 116, pp. 34-35.

In late 1979 and early 1980, President Nimeiri faced two particularly serious threats to his authority. In November 1979, the Southern Region rejected the entire bill that would have set up regional governments throughout Sudan on the grounds that the attached map to the bill incorrectly showed the border of the Region. Likewise, in January 1980, President Nimeiri's choice as Governor of Darfur Region was rejected by the Darfur delegates to the National Assembly. Despite these "isolated incidents," Nimeiri still has wide support throughout Sudan. He will probably continue to hold power there.

Sulton, James E., Jr. "Regional Autonomy in the Southern Sudan: A Study in Conflict Regulation." Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1980. Cited in Dissertation Abstracts International, vol. 41, no. 9 (March 1981), pp. 4154-55.

"Conflict regulation means political action which controls the intensity of conflict, through means other than resolution or suppression, in such a manner as to maintain a functional role for conflict in the political process." The author believes that the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement between the Government of the Sudan and Southern Sudan Liberation Movement established "conflict regulation" in the region for the first time. Dr. Sulton credits the three principle "decision makers" (President Numeiry, Vice President Abel Alier, and Major General Joseph Lagu) with the success of the "regulation" of the crisis. The author hastens to point out that "conflict regulation" must be carefully maintained and strengthened if a total breakdown to open conflict is to be avoided.

ZAIRE

Callaghy, Thomas M. "State-Subject Communication in Zaire: Domination and the Concept of Domain Consensus." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 3 (1980), pp. 469-92.

"Domain consensus" is defined as a group's understanding of "the role of the state, what it will and will not do, as well as the locus and extent of political power." In other words, it is a "reciprocity of expectations between rulers and the ruled." The author concludes that Mobutu's authoritarian regime in Zaire primarily relies on coercion to maintain "basic order," but at a very high cost. "In short, the communications techniques employed by the regime of Mobutu create a gap between the state and the society." An excellent article, if a bit too theoretical.

Schatzberg, Michael G. Politics and Class in Zaire: Bureaucracy, Business and Beer in Lisala. New York: Africana, 1980, 228 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs (Summer 1980), p. 1205.

This study demonstrates "how complete centralization of power in Zaire has not led to more effective governance but to total exploitation of most of the population, and has created a virtually universal adversary relationship between elites and masses." The book has a comprehensive overview of the impact of the 1973 "Zairianization" of the country's commercial sector.

"Woes of a Debtor: Economic Recovery Moves at a Snail's Pace." The Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), 30 January 1981, pp. 37-38.

Most of the article deals with Zaire's growing foreign debt and the various International Monetary Fund requirements for continued financial support to the Mobutu government. The author concludes: "Zaire's vital mineral resources are invaluable to the West, and the West's continued, if grudging, support is equally vital to President Mobutu. It is an uncomfortable interdependence but it dictates a modus vivendi between Kinshasa and creditor

governments and institutions."

ZAMBIA

Jacobs, Gloria. "Zambia: The High Price of Peace." Southern Africa, March-April 1981, pp. 6-8, 25.

The author writes that Zambia is in an economic crisis caused in part by state funds being pumped into paying for energy and food imports, transportation costs, and into providing subsidies to keep the cost of domestically produced food low. In President Kenneth Kaunda's "Zambianization" program of small retail businesses, he has relied on a patronage system for his political friends. The International Monetary Fund has granted loans with conditions that would shift money from welfare services to infrastructural development. The average Zambian would be affected adversely in the short run. Opposition to Kaunda has become clear in the labor unions, but it is not a well-organized challenge. The loyalty of the armed forces has remained with Kaunda, although the army is becoming increasingly disaffected.

Schoeman, Stan. "Socio-economic Development in Zambia--the Dumont Report." Africa Institute of South Africa Bulletin, vol. 20, no. 12 (1980), pp. 89-95.

The author reviews Zambia's economic history since 1964, showing a continuing one-commodity export economy (copper) that fluctuates with the market. Then he reviews an economic report by French socialist Rene Dumont who criticizes the neglect of the rural economy and the promotion of the urban economy. Dumont recommends the establishment of local grassroots decision-making groups.

ZIMBABWE

"Quarterly Economic Review of Zimbabwe, Malawi." The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd., 1st Quarter 1981 (13 February 1981), whole issue.

Overview of political events and details of the economy in text, charts, and other statistics. Each country is discussed separately and some comparisons are made. In Zimbabwe, a 3-year development plan involves 60 percent foreign financing, and exports and imports have soared.

Callinicos, Alex. Southern Africa After Zimbabwe. Pluto Press, n.d. Reviewed by Michael Wolfers in West Africa, 13 April 1981, pp. 809-10.

Both reviewer and author are writing from a radical perspective. The reviewer criticizes the author for stating that the revolutions in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, and the agitation in South Africa do not measure up to Lenin's prescription for revolution.

Gregory, Martyn. "Zimbabwe 1980: Politicization Through Armed Struggle and Electoral Mobilization." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, vol. XIX, no. 1 (March 1981), pp. 62-94.

Extremely detailed account of the election campaign in early 1980 which brought Robert Mugabe and his party, ZANU (PF), to power (in a coalition

with another party, ZAPU, as a junior partner). The author writes that "the basis for ZANU (PF)'s electoral triumph was its ability to articulate and organize African opposition to white rule more successfully than any of its rivals, and this was a direct result of the deliberate campaign of mass politicization which it waged far more effectively than its rivals during the years of armed struggle. Any assessment of ZANU (PF)'s progress along the precarious electoral route to political power must, however, give due weight to the crucial role played by the white community's chronic misreading of the nationalists' widespread support."

Manning, Robert. "Turning Point for Zimbabwean Economy." Africa, no. 117, May 1981, pp. 52-53.

During the first year of independence, the government has moved quickly to make immediate improvements for the people. The living conditions for the two million people in urban areas have noticeably improved because of a rise in the minimum wage, and the activity of commercial farmers has increased because of an increase in the producer price of maize. Good weather and the lifting of sanctions are given as reasons for a large maize crop. In looking at the future, the writer believes continuing success will depend on developments in the southern Africa region and the amount of capital that Zimbabwe can raise.

Smith, David, Simpson, Colin, and Davis, Ian. Mugabe. Sphere Books, n.d. Reviewed by Njoroge Dseagu in West Africa, 13 April 1981, p. 810.

The reviewer says the authors are experienced journalists who have published a book "that reads more like a series of severely subbed tabloid news stories rather than one based on well researched painstaking work." The authors attempt to dismantle the myth of Mugabe as a dogmatic Marxist but do not really give the full view of the man, according to the reviewer.

"Zimbabwe's Open House." African Index, vol. IV, no. 3, 28 February 1981, pp. 9-12.

The first year of Zimbabwe's independence is reviewed with an optimistic air. Published just before the Zimcord donors' conference, it presents the agenda and highlights of the recently announced long-range economic policy. This emphasizes opportunities for Western investment and the necessity for land reform.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in June 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Bender, Hertwig. "Die Entwicklung des Fernmeldewesens in Afrika während der Dekade von 1968 bis 1978 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des PANAFTEL-Projekts. (The Development of Communications Networks in Africa During the Decade between 1969 and 1978: A Special Consideration of PANAFTEL Projects)." Afrika Spectrum, no. 1, 1979, pp. 73-85.

The United Nations-sponsored project PANAFTEL (Pan-African Telecommunications System) has been under construction since 1968 to create an infrastructure whose lack has been both a material and political disadvantage for many African countries. A map of the network as it stands in 1978 is presented. The network is projected to be working in 1980.

"Evolution des marines d'Afrique Noire de 1970 à 1980 (The Evolution of Navies in Black Africa from 1970 to 1980)." Afrique Defense, no. 36, March 1980, pp. 48-51.

Tonnage of African navies has nearly quadrupled during the past 10 years. Newly independent African nations ignored their navies but now consider them necessary to protect national interests and extend their jurisdiction over territorial waters. Special attention is given to the Chinese and Soviets as naval suppliers. The Nigerian Navy, its present strength and projected growth also is highlighted.

Golan, Tamar. "A Certain Mystery: How Can France Do Everything That It Does In Africa--And Get Away With It?" African Affairs, January 1981, pp. 3-11.

A rambling article that never succinctly answers its own questions. Golan believes that French-African relations have shifted from a father-son relationship to that of a "big brother," where geopolitical concerns are now clearly uppermost. Golan also notes that several African states, notably Zaire, Somalia, and Mozambique, desire a "special relationship" with France.

Hofmeier, Rolf. "Die Transafrikastrassen--Stand der Planung und Realisierung (The Transafrican Route--Stages Planned and Accomplished)." Afrika Spectrum, no. 1, 1979, pp. 31-51.

Background, present status, and possible modifications to the Transafrican routes are outlined in detail. The lines from Algeria to Nigeria and from Lagos to Mombasa receive most attention but other smaller projects also are mentioned. The road system in relation to railways is given special emphasis when East, Central, and Southern Africa are discussed.

Le Vine, Victor T. "African Patrimonial Regimes in Comparative Perspective." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (1980), pp. 657-73.

Most modern African regimes are patrimonial, a term never clearly defined by Le Vine. Its elements include charisma, constitutionalism (of the tradi-

tional social and political sort), zero-sum conflict, and the "big-man, small-boy" syndrome. Some African military juntas based on the collegial model (Ethiopia and presumably Liberia) lack patrimonial characteristics, as do open, pluralistic regimes (Botswana and Gambia). With regard to stability, patrimonial regimes contain two flaws: they remain highly vulnerable to competing attempts to do the same thing, and they rely too heavily on the ability of a single individual (or group) to remain in power.

Mestiri, Ezzedine. Les Cubains et l'Afrique. Karthala, n.p., n.d. Reviewed in West Africa, 4 May 1981, pp. 981-82.

Written by a Tunisian journalist whose argument is "rhetorically coherent but in practice contradictory." Cuban involvement in Ethiopia seems to fit the grand Soviet strategy, while the Angolan intervention has motives "rooted in Cuban politics," suggesting that Cuba is not a Soviet proxy in Africa. Mestiri claims that the Cuban presence in Angola is viewed with hostility by the indigenes, however the reviewer believes otherwise.

Mohiddin, Ahmed. African Socialism in Two Countries. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981, 232 pp. Citation in catalog.

A Marxist analysis of Kenya's African socialism and Tanzania's Ujamaa that provides practical guidelines for applying these versions of socialism to other countries.

Rondos, Alex. "Mitterrand and Africa." West Africa, 18 May 1981, pp. 1074-76.

African nations look for improved relations with France and a new French political policy and posture toward Africa. Chad's recurring problems are laid to French policy which did not attack the roots of instability. A strong position by France against South Africa on the Namibia question is hoped for. However, African involvement in the franc zone is probably the most important focus as African inputs will help shape policy.

Shaw, Timothy M. and Heard, Kenneth A., eds. The Politics of Africa: Dependence and Development. Halifax: Dalhousie University Press, 1979, 400 pp. Reviewed by Otwin Marenin in The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (1980), pp. 695-98.

A collection of 14 papers presented at the 1973 and 1974 conferences of the Canadian African Studies Association. The book is divided into five sections: uneven development and class formation, dependent development, political change and participation, aid to Africa, and Africa and international politics. The case studies deal with Uganda, Upper Volta, Lesotho, Sierra Leone, Malawi, and Zambia. The reviewer feels that the work is dated, a fact which highlights how quickly events overtake thinking on Africa.

Shreeve, Gavin. "West Germans Go Where the Big Contracts Are." Africa Economic Digest, 24 April 1981, pp. 2-4.

West German firms traditionally have tended to chase only large contracts and limited their sphere of influence to those countries providing raw materials--notably oil (Nigeria, Algeria and Libya). But the West German reputation for efficiency and reliability and a growing awareness of other Third World needs is bringing about increased German involvement elsewhere in Africa. This article includes abundant detailed information on specific development projects throughout Africa involving West German firms.

BURUNDI

Magina, Magina. "Burundi Past, Present and Future." Africa, no. 117, May 1981, pp. 39-40, 49.

After a bloody and violent period spanning close to a decade, Burundi is slowly but steadily emerging with a strong determination to "reconstruct and rehabilitate" its economic, political and social life. Much of the credit for this attributed to President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza. The article concludes with an interview with Bagaza.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Cot, Ginette. "Un Scenario Presque Parfait (An Almost Perfect Scenario)." Afrique-Asie (Paris), 16 March 1981, pp. 34-35.

A very critical article of French "self-interest" in overthrowing the regime of Jean Bokassa and in installing the pro-French regime of David Dacko in Bangui.

"France/Central African Republic: Pitfalls for Giscard, Dacko." Africa News, 30 March 1981, pp. 2, 8.

The French Government's deep involvement in the internal affairs of the Central African Republic is causing domestic problems for both CAR President Dacko as well as for French President Giscard d'Estaing. The recent elections in the CAR had a decidedly anti-French overtone, and resulted in only a marginal victory for Dacko. Likewise, President d'Estaing cannot escape from charges of improper behavior in the Bokassa diamond scandal.

CHAD

Buijenhuijs, R. "Guerre de Guerrilla et Revolution en Afrique Noire: Les Lecons du Tchad (Guerrilla War and Revolution in Black Africa: The Lessons of Chad)." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 1, January 1980, pp. 23-33.

The new government of Chad represents the first noncolonial occasion in which a guerrilla force has taken political power in Africa. This goes contrary to the dictum of Gerard Chailland who emphasized that due to poverty of resources and population, a guerrilla force lacks a base for success. Although FROLINAT has become legitimized, it still needs to institutionalize its revolution.

ETHIOPIA

Connell, Dan. "Eritrea: Nationalist Forces Renew Unity Effort." Africa News, 27 April 1981, pp. 6-8.

Rival Eritrean groups--ELF, ELF-PLF, RC-PLF, and EPLF--are once again attempting to establish a limited united front. Representatives from these four groups met in Tunis in March under the auspices of the Arab League and agreed to form a working committee that will coordinate their actions and assist in distributing foreign assistance. This new attempt at unity supersedes a 1977 agreement between the EPLF and ELF that broke down in August 1980 when the signatories began to fight each other. The timing of this latest compromise is crucial as there are indications that both Washington and Moscow are seeking a compromise solution to the Eritrean independence war.

"The Horn: Approach of a Settlement?" Africa Confidential, 20 May 1981, pp. 1-3.

Because of the growing domestic weakness of Siad's regime in Somalia and Sudanese President Nimeri's policy of reconciliation with Ethiopia, there is an increasing realization that Ethiopia's President Mengistu will be better able to deal with the Eritrean insurgents. The government in Addis Ababa refuses to concede to the Eritreans' demand for independence and has begun to promote the idea of linguistic autonomy for four of Eritrea's nine ethnic groups: the Tigre, the Kunama, the Tigrinya-speakers of south and central Eritrea, and the Afars of the southeast.

GABON

Carim, Enver. "Gabon's Transport Links Key to Development." Africa Economic Digest, 1 May 1981, pp. 2-4.

With oil output declining, the Gabonese will have to work fast to develop their agriculture, industry and mining. Since 80 percent of the country is covered by dense tropical forests, transportation is the key to development. Gabon's future is tied to the completion of the Transgabon Railroad and the extension of Gabon's air network. The article contains statistical information on various aspects of the Gabonese economy and transport infrastructure.

GHANA

Brown, David. "Borderline Politics in Ghana: the National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (1980), pp. 575-609.

Traces the development of the National Liberation Movement of Western Togo-land (Tolimo), an organization of disaffected Ghanaian Ewes based in Togo. Tolimo's lack of success in mobilizing Ghana's Ewes is owed to factionalism

and its failure to identify the goals and ideologies which might politicize and mobilize the discontent which is abundant in Ghana's Volta Region.

KENYA

Killick, Tony. "Kenya: Home Policies Versus World Economic Squeeze." Africa Economic Digest, 5 June 1981, pp. 2-3.

An analysis of the international pressures on the Kenyan economy and the government's reactions and reforms.

Reaves, Malik Stan. "Kenya: Drama in the Courtroom." Africa News, 20 April 1981, pp. 2-3.

Charles Njonjo, Kenya's powerful Minister of Home Affairs, has been named in connection with Kenya's first treason trial since independence. He has been implicated in a case that involves a plot against the life of President Moi. The aim of this conspiracy was the restoration of the Kikuyu ethnic group's predominance in Kenya's political affairs. President Moi is not from the Kikuyu faction and his presidency has been characterized by a dramatic expansion of non-Kikuyu groups' participation in the decisionmaking apparatus.

MALI

Amselle, J.-L. "Famine, Proletarisation et Creation de Nouveux Liens de Dependance au Sahel: Les Refugees de Mopti et de Lere au Mali (Famine, Proletarization and the Creation of New Lines of Dependence in the Sahel: The Refugees of Mopti and Lere in Mali)." Politique Africaine, vol. 1, no. 1, January 1981, pp. 5-22.

The severe Sahelian drought resulted in the impoverishment of nomads and their settlement in Mopti and Lere in Mali. The nomads moved from temporary sites to more permanent ones and established client-patron relationships in new settings. With sedentarization came the destruction of the social fabric of the nomads in what the author describes as a genocide of nomads. The impoverished nomads are still in refugee camps at the mercy of traditional chiefs and merchants in the region to whom they are required to sell their services to survive.

Andiramirado, Sennen. "Mali: Une Nouvelle Epuration se Prepare (Mali: A New Purge in the Works)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1964, 27 May 1981, pp. 44-45.

As President Moussa Traoure tries to remain in power and reform the economy by abolishing state companies, old cohorts allied to the state bureaucracy are falling by the wayside. Other friends are cautiously keeping their distances for a probable showdown. Relations with the Soviet Union are cool following Soviet complicity in an attempted coup in January. The political situation is tense and economic conditions are worsening.

NAMIBIA

Katjavivi, Jane. "Namibia: International Testing Ground." Africa, May 1981, pp. 33-34.

A brief overview of the present prospects for an independent Namibia. Katjavivi examines the prospects of an economic embargo against South Africa, the possibility of a constitutional conference, and the recent creation by South Africa of a Namibian police and defense force.

"War Communiqué." Namibia Today, July/August 1980, pp. 30-35.

Probably an exercise in hyperbole, this communiqué states that between April and June 1980, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) destroyed 50 armored personnel carriers, 25 planes, and 200 military vehicles of the South African Defense Force. Discussing the large "Smokeshell" attack, the communiqué claims that South Africa used chemical burning agents and that SWAPO downed "two Phantom jet fighters."

NIGERIA

Achike, Okay. Groundwork of Military Law and Military Rule in Nigeria. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978, 278 pp. Reviewed in The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (1980), p. 708.

Although heavily weighted on the legal side, the book is enlivened by commentary on recent political developments in Nigeria. Achike begins by tracing the colonial origins of the Nigerian military, the sources of law affecting the army, and a soldier's legal status. He examines the 1966 coup and Biafran secession from a constitutional viewpoint.

Ogan, Amma. "Senate Crisis for the NPN." West Africa, 27 April 1981, pp. 909-10.

Reports on the efforts to diminish the power of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) senate leader O. Saraki by creating a second NPN leadership post. It seems clear that most of President Shagari's close advisors are displeased with Saraki's performance as senate leader. Although Saraki has accepted the appointment of a deputy, it remains to be seen how the new leadership structure will work over the long run.

Pardoe, G. R. "Nigeria's Return to Civilian Rule: An Assessment of Corrective Military Government." Militaria (Pretoria), vol. 10, no. 3 (1980), pp. 28-39.

A well-written and -researched article by a corporal in the South African Defense Force. The author describes the years of military rule in Nigeria as "corrective military government," falling between caretaker military governments (for example, the National Liberation Council in Ghana) and revolutionary military governments (such as the Dergue in Ethiopia). The Nigerian military is commended for restructuring society to permit the restoration of civilian rule.

Umoh, Umoh James. "Politics and the Trade Unions." West Africa, 27 April 1981, pp. 920-21.

Contends that the Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC) is controlled by politicians. According to Umoh, Hassan Sunmonu, whom he terms a Marxist, was elected president of the NLC because one-third of the voting delegates owe their Eastern European scholarships to his good offices. Umoh urges the West to counter this Communist influence by also providing scholarships to union members.

REUNION

"La Reunion." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, no. 1845, 20 March 1981, pp. 743-50.

Part of an issue devoted to French Overseas Departments. The description of Reunion touches on almost all facets of life on Reunion, save politics. Totally dependent on France, Reunion has had a trade imbalance (sugar is its main crop) which nearly doubled between 1975 and 1979.

SENEGAL

"Diouf Prepares For Challengers." Africa News, 18 May 1981, pp. 2-4, 11.

A laudatory assessment of President Abdou Diouf's first months in office and his ability to move in new directions. By completely opening up the political process and allowing unlimited political expression, Diouf has won the praise of important opposition figures.

SIERRA LEONE

Sesay, Amadu. "Conflict and Collaboration: Sierra Leone and Her West African Neighbors, 1961-1980." Afrika Spectrum, no. 2 (1980), pp. 163-80.

Employs a regional approach to the study of Sierra Leone's foreign policy since independence. Relations with Guinea, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria are highlighted, but little new information is offered.

"Sierra Leone: Down and Down." Africa Confidential, 20 May 1980, pp. 5-7.

Details the grave state of affairs in Sierra Leone, including the dismal economy, rampant corruption, and political repression. Although oil and gold have been discovered recently, "the new-found wealth could accelerate rather than avert the possibility of a coup. People are becoming reluctant to keep the same team--only richer than before--in power." Mentions that the paramilitary Internal Security Unit (ISU) has been trained by Chinese, as well as Cuban, advisers.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Solidarity With S.A. Workers." Sechaba, February 1981, pp. 2-6.

An interview with Thozamile Botha, former leader of Ford workers in Port Elizabeth and former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association. Botha claims that, based on his experiences, little class unity exists between white and black workers: race presumably outweighs economics. Botha also states that white management will never display sympathy to the nationalist movement and that the Sullivan principles only constitute an excuse for multinational corporations to continue their South African operations.

Ward, Lt. E. H. "Utilization Of The Defence Flying Club As A Supernumerary Squadron." Militaria, vol. 10, no. 3 (1980), pp. 68-69.

Noting the South African Air Force's growing shortage of pilots, Lieutenant Ward suggests that the government support the Defence Flying Club with money and training. By allowing the club pilots to fly light aircraft communications flights, the government would free air force pilots for combat functions.

SUDAN

Akol, Jacob. "Interview: Bona Malwal: Out of Stagnation." Sudanow (Khartoum), January 1981, pp. 18-19.

Bona Malwal is a longstanding member of the Sudanese Political Bureau and is now head of the Southern Region's newly independent Ministry of Industry; he formerly served as Sudanese Minister of Culture and Information. Malwal discusses the major issues and discontents facing the Southern Region in Sudan.

Boulis, Nagi Saliem. "Economic Cooperation: Japanese Aid to Sudan." Sudanow (Khartoum), January 1981, pp. 27-28.

A detailed account of Sudan's expanding contact with Japan. The article contains some specifics on individual Japanese-financed projects in Sudan.

Phillips, Jeffery. "New Refinery: On Troubled Waters." Sudanow (Khartoum), January 1981, pp. 31-34.

A national conference was to be held in Khartoum in March 1981 to discuss how best to use Sudan's energy resources. The attention focused on oil as the potential salvation of the economy needs to be reconsidered in the light of escalating domestic consumption. The article also concerns the controversy of locating the newest oil refinery in Sudan at Kosti rather than in the Southern Region.

"Sudan: Optimism Bears Fruit with Kenana's Inauguration." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 February-14 March 1981, pp. 5837-39.

A rather detailed history of the planning and development of the Kenana sugar project in Sudan. In addition to the importance of the project to the Sudanese economy, Kenana is one of the largest "equity investments in a developing country that the Arab oil states have ever made." The article also contains an overview of the Sudanese economy.

"Sudan: Situationer: Numeiry's Domestic, External Concerns." The Middle East Reporter, 28 March 1981, pp. 12-14.

Current economic problems and the fact that Sudan is "sandwiched" between two strongly Soviet-backed regimes in Ethiopia and Libya ("as well as other states which are not necessarily friendly") are cited as the principal reasons for President Numeiry's decision to offer military facilities to the United States and to resume diplomatic relations with Egypt. The article also gives an overview of Numeiry's domestic political opposition.

TANZANIA

Hirschbein, Sevin. "Tanzania: The Non-Marxist Path to Socialism?" Monthly Review, January 1981, pp. 24-41.

Using Marxist analysis, the author attempts to determine whether the Tanzanian state, with an ideology based on a mixture of nationalization and a tribal communism that is non-Marxist in its denial of the principle of class struggle, is moving toward socialism. He concludes that Tanzania, despite its good intentions, is not becoming socialist but, in fact, since the Arusha Declaration has continued to develop along capitalist lines and is increasingly alining itself with the advanced capitalist states.

UPPER VOLTA

"'La Vraie Democratie' for Upper Volta." West Africa, 18 May 1981, pp. 1081-83.

The new military government of Upper Volta under Colonel Saye Zerbo has defined true democracy for his country as autonomous development and freedom from foreign domination. Political activity has been banned, bars are closed during work hours as bureaucrats are being called to account for their activities. Educational reform, a new health program, and food self-sufficiency are the development priorities for the future.

ZAMBIA

Weiss, Ruth. "Finance Minister Puts the Zambian Case." African Business, March 1981, pp. 31-32.

Finance Minister Kebby Musokotwane bemoans the low price for copper--which Zambia relies on for foreign exchange earnings--and points to the agricultural sector as the key to building a sound economic base. Imports of maize in 1979 and 1980 drained foreign exchange. Two planned measures are a reorganization of the country's agriculture marketing board and the establishment of a Prices and Incomes Commission.

ZIMBABWE

Moorcraft, Paul L. A Short Thousand Years. Salisbury: Galaxie, 1979, 248 pp.

An anecdotal history of Rhodesia from 1975 to the election of Bishop Muzorewa as Prime Minister. Highly readable and generally accurate, the book concludes that South African whites will face the same self-defeating military struggle as did Rhodesia unless the South African Government rapidly institutes political and economic reforms.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in July 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Arnold, Guy. "New Directions for the 1980s." Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 58-61.

Praises the special OAU economic summit at Lagos in early 1980 as the first OAU attempt to find a continental approach to economic problems. The author believes the reliance on financing from non-African sources has resulted in great debt service burdens and other dependencies that have worked against control by Africans of their own economies. Agriculture should also be higher on the agenda for African development and regional economic schemes should be pursued more vigorously.

Central African Chambers of Commerce & Industry Annual. Cameroon: Societe Panafricaine d' Edition & de Publicite (Panaf), 1981. As cited in Africa Economic Digest, 15 May 1981, p. 27.

A commercial yearbook is to be published soon which will contain information on 11 countries--Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, and Zaire. Apart from the basic statistical data on area and population, there will be an English, French, and Spanish index of the companies by product and by country, and an alphabetical list of main dealers. A fourth section will list more than 5,000 suppliers to the region, and a further section will list producers throughout the world who are interested in doing business with Africa.

Cotter, Marion. "Freighting." Africa Economic Digest, 8 May 1981, pp. 2-10.

An excellent and rather detailed article on the problems of transporting freight to and from Africa. Subunits of the article treat sea-freight rivalry, African ports' struggle to keep up with the container revolution, oil imports overtaking France's traditional traffic, and airfreight.

Hughes, Anthony J. "Policy Options in the Horn." Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 4-11.

After considering the current state of affairs on the Horn of Africa, the author weighs several policy options available to the new Reagan Administration. One interesting possible policy--designed to counter Soviets without doing irreparable harm to the region--was for the United States to draw back from closer association with Somalia, leaving the field for others, namely the regional powers of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, but also China, which has a historic link with the Siad regime and would welcome the opportunity to confront the Soviets by way of proxy.

Mortimer, Robert A. "Politics in Trans-Saharan Africa." Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 47-52.

A single geopolitical unit known as trans-Saharan Africa is emerging which includes states in the Maghreb, Sahara, Sahel and the coastal belt from Guinea to Nigeria. This new entity is developing out of the old colonial

divisions that divided the area into North and West Africa. The three main powers in this nascent system are Nigeria, Algeria and Libya. The author points to two wars as the foci around which extensive region-wide diplomacy has been conducted: the Western Sahara conflict and the Chad-Libya war. The United States should first assist in ending the Western Sahara dispute through creative diplomacy and pursue partnerships with Nigeria and Algeria, since they are core states promoting development in the emerging region.

Nascimento, Elisa Larkin. "Brazil: Key Country in the Africa World." Umoja, vol. IV, no. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 98-113.

Brazil's somewhat convoluted relations with Africa are examined. Until the fall of the Caetano Government in Portugal, multiracial Brazil fully supported Portuguese colonialism in Africa. In the 1970s, trade (including arms sales) was emphasized over politics and extensive diplomatic links were established with black Africa; Brazil was the first non-African state to recognize Angola's Marxist regime. At the same time, Brazil's military elite is dominated by light-skinned officers of European descent who, together with their Argentine colleagues, support the apartheid government of South Africa.

ANGOLA

Bender, Gerald J. "Angola: Left, Right and Wrong." Foreign Policy, Summer 1981, pp. 53-69.

Analysis of recent diplomacy by the Reagan Administration in regard to Angola. The author argues against support for the UNITA guerrilla group led by Jonas Savimbi. He points out that Savimbi is supported by South Africa and has changed his positions according to the political winds. Support for UNITA would only hurt US relations with black Africa and would not have the desired affect of removing the Cubans and Russians from Angola.

Hempstone, Smith. "Angola: The War The World Forgot." Soldier of Fortune, July 1981, pp. 34-41, 84-92, Part I; Soldier of Fortune, August 1981, pp. 35-39, 72-77, Part II.

The author travelled with UNITA in Angola last September. He details some strategy, troop strength and armaments in these Pro-UNITA articles in mercenary magazine.

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Angola: Ideology and Pragmatism in Foreign Policy." International Affairs, vol. 57, no. 2, Spring 1981, pp. 254-69.

An explication of Angola's "nonaligned" foreign policy. The experience of Angola shows that it is "possible for a country to be openly pro-Russian in political links, and yet be genuinely nonaligned in its economic relations." The author bases this assessment on the fact that the government has stepped up its invitation in recent years for Western capital to invest in the country. It appears that for Angola the term "nonalignment" has come to mean promoting relations with the East and the West in a bid to obtain maximum benefit.

BURUNDI

Magina, Magina. "Burundi Past, Present and Future." Africa, no. 117, May 1981, pp. 39-40 & 49.

Burundi has one of the bloodiest political histories in Africa. However, the regime of President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza has remarkably transformed both Burundian politics and its economic direction. The first steps have been taken toward restoring civilian rule, and Burundi's economic development is advancing fairly well. A great deal of the credit for these advances is given to President Bagaza himself. The article includes excerpts from an interview with the President.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

"Central African Republic: President Wins Elections." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 March 1981, pp. 5989-90.

A brief overview of the March 1981 elections in the CAR. Particular attention is paid to the outbreak of violence following the announcement that President Dacko had won the elections.

CHAD

Cot, Cinette. "Le C.U.N.T Gagne du Terrain (GUNT Gains Ground)." Asie Afrique, 27 April-10 May 1981, no. 238, pp. 22-24.

A one-sided argument catagorizing the positive accomplishments of the present Chad Government, of a realistic French policy which does not favor further intervention. Egyptian and Sudanese support for Habre risk further weakening the Sudan Government. Qadhafi is chided but not condemned for "having opened new perspectives to the struggles between the peoples of the new continent."

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

"Equatorial Guinea: Exorcising Nguema's Ghost." Africa, no. 117, May 1981, pp. 26-27.

The economic and "visible" scars of the 11-year dictatorial rule of Macias Nguema are still present 2 years after his ouster from power. Despite the Supreme Military Council's (SMC's) efforts to correct these ills, most Guineans still see the present regime as "new wine in an old bottle." The new regime must work to change this image in order to attract back to Equatorial Guinea many of the exiled Guineans and foreigners that formerly made the country an economic "paradise."

ETHIOPIA

Palmer, John. "Ethiopian Dialogue May Annoy Russians." The Guardian (London), 1 June 1981.

The author contends that the recent visit of a senior delegation from the Dergue--the ruling Military Council of Ethiopia--to Brussels should be seen as a setback to the Soviet Union. Though the Ethiopian leadership has never entirely severed its connections to the European Economic Community, the fact that Addis Ababa has now decided to pursue closer relations must be cause for apprehension in Moscow. And, not coincidentally, the rapprochement with Ethiopia comes at a time when many Europeans have grown uneasy over Somalia's continued intransigence in the Ogaden.

KENYA

"Kenya: Backstage Positions." Africa Confidential, 6 May 1981, pp. 1-2.

This article analyzes the behind-the-scenes actions that preceded Moi's succession to the presidency after Kenyatta's death. For the most part, the major actors--Moi, Njonjo, and Kibaki--worked in unison, but now this triumvirate has effectively been dissolved into feuding factions. Who becomes president after Moi's term ends in a little more than 2 years will depend on how well they are able to duplicate (or have others duplicate) the skillful handling of the key organs of government required for a stable succession.

MADAGASCAR

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Les Slogans au Vestiaire (Slogans to the Cloakrooms)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1071, 15 July 1981, pp. 34-35.

The rhetoric of the Madagascar socialist revolution will have to give way to economic realism. Its enormous debt has been renegotiated, and a new loan from the International Monetary Fund is contingent on realistic austerity and lessening the tensions of orchestrated class struggle. The government made a first step by relaxing its stand against university students and Minister of Finance and Planning Rakotavao-Razakaboana appears to have won out over radicals in demanding a relaxing of tension.

NAMIBIA

Seiler, John. "Which Way in Southern Africa?" Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 17-22.

After describing the diplomatic history of Namibia since 1972, Seiler worries that "massive" South African self-confidence coupled with American political support will create a dangerous stalemate in Namibia which will

increase domestic political support for the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) as well as increase Soviet arms and influence within SWAPO. Seiler concludes by hoping that leading US congressmen exert a moderating influence on the Reagan administration.

NIGERIA

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Nigeria's Foreign Policy Under Military Rule 1966-69." International Journal (Canada), Autumn 1980, pp. 748-65.

All the various regimes in Nigeria have subscribed to nonalignment at the international level and good neighborliness in Africa. What has varied is the way in which these principles have been interpreted. When the military intervened in January 1966, Nigeria's foreign policy remained what it had been at independence: it was openly pro-West and lacked any initiative, creativity, or leadership in African affairs. The Biafran War provided an entree for the Soviet Union on the Federal side, but Britain among the Western nations also supported the Federalists. After the war, General Gowon swung toward the West again, a move which contributed to his ouster in 1975. The Muhammed regime (and later Obasanjo) was committed to a genuine nonaligned stance, and emphasized the decolonization of Africa. While Obasanjo felt hostility for the Ford administration's Angola policy, Nigeria grew closer to the United States under President Carter.

SENEGAL

"Economic Review." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 June 1981, pp. 6034-37.

A cataloging of past, present, and future economic developments under Senegal's development plans. The projections for Senegal's 6th Plan, 1981-85, are detailed and projects already completed are noted.

Rondos, Alex. "Sweet Smell in Senegal." West Africa, 25 May 1981, pp. 1142-43.

Even the critics of the former government have praise for the successor government and have announced themselves willing to give President Diouf a chance. In foreign policy, there are indications that the rigid stance of Senghor may be liberalized. Although still pro-French and pro-American, Diouf may soon recognize the Angola Government. US interest is on the rise as military credits from the United States rose from nothing to \$2 million for 1982.

Wauthier, Claude. "Six Mois d'Abdou Diouf (Abdou Diouf's Six Months)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1071, 15 July 1981, pp. 46-48.

Senegal's prospects are good though chronic economic problems continue. The press denounces corruption, fraud, and over-bureaucratization; wealthy businessmen who have gained riches through government connections are denounced by name. Diouf's government has plans on the board to develop lignite and peat for electricity. The Mitterand victory inspires even more confidence as the two socialist parties are assumed to have close ties.

SOMALIA

Hughes, Anthony J. "Interview: Mohamed Diriye Urdooh, Secretary General of the Western Somali Liberation Front." Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 15-16.

The Secretary General attempts to present his group and its goals as distinct from those of Somalia. When asked his view on the claim of Somalia to the Ogaden, he answers, "There is no such claim." Asked if he is seeking total independence for Western Somalia, he states that the "masses" will decide the question when the time comes. He also says that his group has no ideology: "Our goal is to get independence with guns." He describes the war strategy of the group at present as "hit and run" guerrilla tactics against the Ethiopians. In this interview, the Secretary General is obviously trying to play down the extensive support from the Somalis and to give a picture of his group as an independent organization.

Hughes, Anthony J. "Interview with Dr. Mohamed Sheikh Aden, Somali Minister of Information and National Guidance." Africa Report, May-June 1981, pp. 12-14.

The Minister gives the rationale behind the Somali claims on territories in Ethiopia and Kenya. He praises American help with humanitarian aid for the many refugees from fighting in the Ogaden, but believes more assistance is necessary. He also supports American diplomatic assistance to settle problems in the region.

"Somalia: Siad's Isolation." Africa Confidential, 17 June 1981, pp. 3-4.

President Siad Barre's political position is becoming increasingly precarious with the economic situation worsening, natural disasters, and a swelling refugee population from southeastern Ethiopia. Last year, in an effort to avoid the bureaucratic confusion that had begun to characterize the Government of Somalia, Barre reactivated his Supreme Revolutionary Council that had launched his 1969 coup. But he soon began to have problems with this group of old cronies and recently suspended several of them from positions of power, including General Muhammed Ali Samatar. In addition, Barre's political future is clouded by a shrinking ethnic base as he has become alienated from the Mijerteen, Issaq, Hawiye, Gedaburze, and Dolbahanta tribes, and it is reported that he intends to ditch the Ogaden tribes by withdrawing support from the guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front in order to negotiate with Ethiopia. He now commands the loyalty of only the Marchan clan.

SOUTH AFRICA

Dreyer, Peter. Martyrs And Fanatics: South Africa and Human Destiny. New York: Simon and Schuster. Reviewed by Kofi Awoonor in Worldview, June 1981, pp. 24-25.

Awoonor considers this a despairing book that discounts any chance of alliances within South Africa's political left. He questions Dreyer's prediction that the Pan Africanist Congress will play a leading role in opposing

the Nationalist government. While praising Dreyer's historical documentation, Awoonor criticizes Dreyer's lack of attention to the economics of apartheid.

"South Africa's Black Mercenaries." CovertAction, July-August 1981, pp. 16-17.

Examines South Africa's 32 Battalion, a counterinsurgency force that regularly operates in southern Angola against South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The Battalion, which may number as many as 10,000 personnel, is staffed largely by foreigners and employs unusually ruthless techniques.

"A Striking Combination." Financial Mail, 20 March 1981, pp. 1178-79.

Contends that the revocation of the Simonstown Agreement by the British Government in 1965 and the arms embargo by the United Nations in 1977 have hurt the West's strategic position while benefiting the South African Navy. No longer required (or able) to protect foreign convoys, the Navy has switched its major function to that of coastal patrol which requires smaller and faster boats needing less manpower. While not offering any new information, the article does briefly examine South Africa's submarine and air reconnaissance potential.

Venter, Al J. "Escape and Evade." Soldier of Fortune, March 1981, pp. 46-50.

Describes how a South African Air Force Captain escaped from South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas after an RPG-7 shot his Alouette III down over southern Angola. Contains photos of Alouette IIIs and Super Frelons.

Venter, Al J. "Sudden Death in Angola." Soldier of Fortune, June 1981, pp. 34-37.

Narrative of a firefight in southern Angola between South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas and an unidentified unit of the South African Defense Force.

Venter, Al J. "SWAPO Strikes Out." Soldier of Fortune, January 1981, pp. 68-70.

Describes a raid by South African airborne troops against Chitado in southwest Angola. Claims that South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) forces wear Angolan army uniforms and that while SWAPO casualties average over 100 a month, their fighting ability has not noticeably lessened. Includes photo of a South African trooper with a Galil 5.56mm rifle.

Weir, Andy, and Bloch, Jonathan. "The Militarization of BOSS." CovertAction, July-August 1981, pp. 30-33.

Provides an historical background to the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and records its past involvement in the Central African Republic and Biafra. Notes the rivalries between BOSS and various military branches. Concludes by stating that the military will increasingly take over South Africa's intelligence functions.

Wolf, Louis. "Merchants of Counter-Insurgency." CovertAction, July-August 1981, pp. 18-19.

Speculates that Globe Aero Ltd., an American deliverer of aircraft, may be employed by the Central Intelligence Agency to transport small aircraft to South Africa. While offering no firm evidence of a CIA connection, the article does provide some useful information about the cooperation provided to Globe Aero by the South African military.

Woodward, Calvin A. "Reform or Revolution in South Africa." The Round Table, April 1980, pp. 100-115.

Analyses the relative political strength of Prime Minister Botha and speculates that Botha may be serving as an enlightened despot: centralizing South Africa's policy formation structure while working for moderate racial policies.

SUDAN

"Plight of the War Victims in the Sudan." West Africa, 27 April 1981, pp. 921-22.

Over the years Sudan has played host to nearly a million refugees from neighboring Zaire, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda. During the recent Chadian civil war, Sudan has had to accept yet another large influx of refugees. Dr. Abdel Rahaman Ahmed el-Bashir, Sudanese Commissioner for Refugees, discusses the vast problems now facing the Sudan in this interview with West Africa.

"Sudan: Numeiry-Qaddafi Feud Deepens." Africa News, 27 April 1981, pp. 3-5 and 10.

Sudan recently has taken on a larger role in supporting Western initiatives to counter perceived Soviet threats both in the Horn of Africa and in the Libya-Chad situation. At the same time, Sudan's relations with neighboring Libya have deteriorated, with each government issuing threats to the other. Against this backdrop, the United States, France, and Saudi Arabia have joined in an effort to beef up Sudan's Army in anticipation of a possible military confrontation.

"Sudan: The Western Wind Now Prevails." An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, 30 March 1981, pp. 4-6.

What prompted Sudan to become "one of the most staunch African supporters of the United States?" The article concludes that it is a combination of the threat of Libyan-backed "subversion" ("nobody seriously believes in a Libyan invasion"), Sudan's frustration at her "Arab brothers" lack of decisive action against Libya following the Chadian crisis, and Sudan's overwhelming reliance on Western-backed economic development (especially in the field of oil exploration). In addition, Sudan has reestablished diplomatic relations

with pro-Western Egypt, and has greatly expanded her contacts with other western powers, most notably France. The article contains a "nonofficial translation of the text" of the communique announcing Sudan's offer of military facilities to the United States.

UPPER VOLTA

"'La Vraie Democratie' For Upper Volta." West Africa, 18 May 1981, pp. 1081-82.

The new military government's program for tackling Upper Volta's economic problems calls for greater planning and direct control of rural development and agrarian reform. Self-sufficiency in food and an end to foreign domination will mean real independence and democracy. The new leader, Colonel Saye Zerbo, has adopted an inward-looking economic program and has demanded that the opposition be silent or be considered traitors.

ZAIRE

"Gecamines--Between Philanthropy and Profit." Africa Economic Digest, 1 May 1981, pp. 18-19.

Although Gecamines, Zaire's all-important state-owned mining concern, has greatly improved production since the May 1978 Shaba II invasion, many long-standing internal weaknesses threaten the economic health of the company. The author goes so far as to state that Shaba II had relatively little adverse impact on Gecamines; in fact, Shaba II may have proved to be Gecamines' salvation: the initial closure of Zaire's production capabilities helped to boost cobalt prices to record levels. Gecamines is the major provider of social services in Shaba, Zaire's most important province (one-sixth of the company's retained foreign earnings go for importing and subsidising maize, maintaining roads, administering hospitals, etc., in Shaba). Potential trouble for Gecamines could mean serious trouble for Zaire.

"Zaire: Bleak Outlook as Prime Minister 'Deserts'." Africa News, 11 May 1981, pp. 2, 8-10.

The resignation of Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond and the subsequent shifts in the Zairian Government have prompted renewed speculation about the possibility of significant political change in the country. However, the consensus of most observers is that the basic power structure will not change. The article is critical of the government's repressive methods, of the widespread poverty in Zaire, and of the "extreme concentration of wealth." The author also notes: "Every Zairian I have ever talked to is convinced that the CIA placed President Mobutu in power and that it is US and [French and Belgian] support which maintains him there."

ZIMBABWE

Brayton, Abbott A. "The Future of Zimbabwe: An Overview." Africa Today, vol. 27, no. 4, 1981, pp. 5-20.

Expressing "cautious optimism," the author lists several problems of a transition "to modernity." Mugabe's main goal must be to maintain stability. The author believes that three critical elements in stability in African states are ethnic conflicts, border conflicts and "the leadership dynamic." This stability can also be enhanced by maintaining the previous economic structure.

Carter, Gwendolen M. "Zimbabwe: The First Year." Africa Report, May-June 1981, p. 62-66.

Views Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as establishing a "firm foundation" during the first year of independence. Describes the various new social programs, like schooling and medical care, as well as economic and military programs. Proposes that the future of the country lies in its agriculture and rural development.

Cliffe, Lionel; Mpofu, Joshua; and Munslow, Barry. "Nationalist Politics in Zimbabwe: The 1980 Elections and Beyond." Review of African Political Economy, no. 18, May-August 1980, pp. 44-67.

Detailed analysis of the election with an emphasis on the organizational structures that the guerrilla groups had set up in the country during the war. The authors believe that this organization was a major factor in the victory of the Patriotic Front. Also, they say that the poorly managed government of Bishop Muzorewa turned voters to the Patriotic Front.

Cornwell, Richard. "Zimbabwe: the Politics of Conciliation." Afrika-Institute Bulletin, vol. 20, no. 14, 1980, pp. 101-08.

Written from a liberal South African point-of-view, Mugabe is described as heading in a pragmatic direction. Conflict between the two guerrilla armies is seen as a potential source of disruption (written before the recent completion of disarming them). Mugabe's support of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) as a "counter constellation" of states in economic cooperation as opposed to South Africa's proposed constellation of states is not inimical to South Africa's interests in the long run. Any diminution of disparities in economic strength between South Africa and the rest of the continent "will help remove the fear South Africa's desire for informal empire and may even bring closer a proper economic cooperation with a more balanced southern Africa."

Liebonow, J. Gus. "Zimbabwe: A Political Balance Sheet, Parts I and II." American Universities Field Staff Reports, Part I, no. 14, 1981; Part II, no. 15, 1981.

Excellent analysis of the first 10 months of Zimbabwe's independence. Touches on political, economic, and social factors in fine detail. Part I is

entitled "Consolidation and Integration" and Part II is "Party Politics and Foreign Affairs." Presents an optimistic picture of the future, especially if the West continues to offer foreign assistance.

Malaba, Luke. "Supply, Control and Organization of African Labour in Rhodesia." Review of African Political Economy, no. 18, May-August 1980, pp. 7-28.

The author describes the settler policies during the first part of the 20th century that worked to deny ownership of land to Africans and insure that they had to offer themselves as paid labor in order to get money to pay taxes. He believes the main thrust of the settlers' policies toward the blacks was to insure a low-cost labor force devoid of political power.

Yates, Peter. "The Prospects for Socialist Transition in Zimbabwe." Review of African Political Economy, no. 18, May-August 1980, pp. 68-88.

Using class analysis, the author categorizes the government's policies in the first year of independence as working to develop support of various groups such as the police and the urban elites of teachers, small businessmen and workers. The policy of reconciliation should give way to state intervention in the production, distribution and exchange processes to change the status quo toward a more equitable socialist economic system.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON THE AFRICA
(Received in August 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

"African Anxieties about Mitterrand." Foreign Report, 14 May 1981, pp. 1-2.

Francois Mitterrand's election as President of France will have far-reaching effects on France's relationship with Africa. Mitterrand has been critical of previous French-South African economic ties; he has blamed South Africa for the failure of the Geneva talks on Namibia; he is more inclined to support black African nations to resist South African pressures; and he has been less critical of Soviet policies in Angola and Ethiopia than previous French governments. Mitterrand's promise to curb France's nuclear power program will impact adversely on Niger's and Gabon's uranium exports to France. Morocco fears that the new French Government will support the Polisario Front in the Western Sahara. But above all, Zaire's President Mobutu faces the sharpest shift in French policies: Mitterrand has been very critical of French interventions to support Mobutu during Shaba I and II. In sum, the United States and other West European nations may have to replace France as roving policeman and source of developmental aid in parts of Africa.

"The African Threat to the Arabs." Foreign Report, 16 April 1981, pp. 3-4.

Nigeria has told its fellow OPEC members that the Africans may withdraw their support for the Arab position at the United Nations against Israel if the Arabs do not cooperate on imposing oil sanctions on South Africa. Similarly, Nigeria has reaffirmed that it will impose sanctions on the United States if it backs South Africa on the Namibian issue. The United States and Nigeria are also at odds over the issue of Cubans in Angola.

Crush, Jonathan S. "Diffuse Development: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland Since Independence." Current Bibliography On African Affairs, vol. 13, no. 4, 1980-81, pp. 391-424.

After briefly examining trends in research on Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, Crush offers a thorough, nonannotated bibliography for the three countries.

Gitelson, Susan Aurelia. "Arab Aid to Africa: How Much and at What Price?" The Jerusalem Quarterly, no. 19, Spring 1981, pp. 120-27.

A good, concise examination of Arab financial institutions and aid to Africa. The author claims that Arab bilateral and multilateral aid rarely amounts to more than 35 to 40 percent of what has been promised and does not compensate poor African countries for the economic dislocations they have suffered as a result of the oil price rise. The recipient states in Africa are striving to increase the amount of Arab aid, while at the same time trying to maintain their political independence.

Ibingira, Grace Stuart. African Upheavals Since Independence. Boulder: Westview Press, 1980, 349 pp. Cited in Current History, vol. 80, no. 463, March 1981, p. 128.

Ibingira believes that the constant tumult in African states since independence lies partly in the defects of the colonial legacy. "Most notable was the total failure to combine within a colony, ethnic groups with compatible characteristics." Another basic cause of instability is the former colonies' preference for autocratic rulers.

Johnson, Willard R. "Africans and Arabs: Collaboration without Cooperation, Change without Challenge." International Journal (Canada), Autumn 1980, pp. 766-93.

Assesses African-Arab relations since the March 1977 Cairo Declarations. The author contends that actual cooperation has been minimal with decision making resting solely with the Arabs. Criticism of Arab aid policies is unfounded: the \$4 billion that Arab states have provided to non-Arab African states from 1975 to 1980 equals US assistance to Africa since World War II. African nations must realize that they (and not only the industrialized nations) benefited from unrealistically low oil prices and must restructure their energy consumption policies and import patterns.

"New Sounds from the Horn." The Economist, 11 July 1981, pp. 49-50.

After the Organization of African Unity's summit in Nairobi in June, Somalia's President Siad and Kenya's President Moi issued a communique pledging to promote better understanding and collaboration in the interest and welfare of their two nations. The author feels that Kenya was taking an active part in trying to bring about a settlement to the dispute on the Horn, as the improvement in relations with Somalia comes only months after a similar warming took place with Ethiopia. As for Somalia's motives, some observers have concluded that Siad wants to make peace with Kenya by down-playing irredentist claims to northeastern Kenya, and thus gain by being able to concentrate on the struggle taking place in the Ogaden.

Sesay, Amadu. "Comparative Study of Foreign Policies: A Critique." International Studies, vol. 19, no. 2, April-June 1980, pp. 221-41.

The two most common approaches to studying African foreign policy have been to view all African states as one bloc, and to recognize individual differences, but only for the bigger, wealthier nations. Sesay attempts to analyze African foreign policy through a subsystem approach: considering all states regardless of size or level of development. Using various criteria, he divides sub-Saharan nations into three groups: developing powers, developing states, and passive states.

Shaw, Timothy M. "From Dependence to Self-Reliance: Africa's Prospects for the Next Twenty Years." International Journal (Canada), Autumn 1980, pp. 821-44.

A predominately economic treatment of Africa's future. The next 20 years will be characterized by the continent's response to the "pathology of persistent underdevelopment." Although conflicts in Africa have tended to be within states (Congo, Nigeria), cross-border conflicts are likely to increase, perhaps resulting in the demise of the OAU as a deliberative body and causing a greater occurrence of foreign intervention.

Wright, J.B. "Francophone Black Africa Since Independence." Conflict Studies, no. 130, May 1981, 33 pages.

An updating of French, Soviet, Chinese, Libyan, and US initiatives in Africa precedes an individual cataloging of francophone African countries in West and Central Africa. Nigeria and Ghana are included but discussed in relation to their francophone neighbors. The study's main value lies in relevancy and up-to-date analysis.

CHAD

"Le Tchad Qui Veut Vivre (The Chad Which Can Live)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 24 April 1981, pp. 1167-71.

The civil war has caused Chad to be economically split in two. The South, called the "Useful Chad," ceases to be governed from the capital in the north. Cotton export production under the sponsorship and direction of the French provides the basis for the financial viability of the South. French interests were visible throughout the conflict which has emphasized the divisions between the areas.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Baynham, Simon. "Equatorial Guinea: The Terror and the Coup." The World Today, vol. 36, no. 2, February 1980, pp. 65-71. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 1, December 1980, p. 277.

Experience in the new states of Black Africa shows that once the armed forces have intervened in politics they are likely to move in and out, from barracks to government, in successive phases. Each usurpation of civil authority reinforces the political nature of the military establishment and introduces further instability into the body politic. Additionally, the supplanting of the civilian regime by a military one usually accentuates divisions inherent in the new armies of Africa.

"Equatorial Guinea: Move Towards Civilian Rule." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 March 1981, pp. 5991-92.

Guinean President Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema has taken the first step toward fulfilling his promise to demilitarize the government; he appointed a civilian, Mr. Emiliano Buale, as Minister of Agriculture. In addition, as of 1 April, all military men holding government posts must declare whether they would prefer to return to strictly military duties or retain their administrative posts. In the latter case, they must accept an extended leave of absence from the armed forces. The article ends with a brief section on other developments in Equatorial Guinea.

ETHIOPIA

"Ethiopia and South Yemen: Fraternal Assistance." Foreign Report, 9 April 1981, pp. 3-5.

In an attempt to deflect the pressure of international censure arising out of its involvement with Ethiopia, the USSR has decided to undertake a lower profile in the future. And, according to the author of this article, this policy will involve the greater use of South Yemeni armed forces in Ethiopia that will permit the withdrawal of both Russians and Cubans. The author further contends that Ethiopia and South Yemen signed a military agreement designed to facilitate this maneuver by Moscow, and that already 1,000 Yemeni troops and equipment have been sent to Ethiopia to fight the insurgents in Eritrea, the Ogaden, and elsewhere.

Henze, Paul B. "Communism and Ethiopia." Problems of Communism, May/June 1981, pp. 63-78.

Despite Communist rhetoric and a number of radical social measures, the regime of Mengistu is finding Marxist solutions and Soviet Bloc influence of decreasing relevance to the domestic and foreign problems facing Ethiopia. Traditional nationalism (revitalized in response to the 1977 Somali invasion of the Ogaden) and resurgent Christianity and Islam are strong obstacles to the Marxist ideology purveyed by foreign-inspired and now largely disbanded leftist groups in Ethiopia. Meanwhile, the military leadership shows no haste to develop a genuine revolutionary party.

GHANA

Gregory, Karl D. "A Task Force Report on Ghana." The Review of Black Political Economy, vol. 10, no. 2, Winter 1980, pp. 169-84.

An NAACP team report (apparently written before Acheampong was overthrown by Akuffo) which tries to cover too much in too little space. Among other things, the United States is condemned for failing to sign a cocoa agreement with cocoa exporting nations.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Marx, Andrew. "Taking Stock of the Revolution." Africa News, 11 May 1981 (Part 1), pp. 6-8; 18 May 1981 (Part 2), pp. 8-10.

The coup in Guinea-Bissau is blamed on the deposed PAIGC which mismanaged the economy. President Nino Vieira is alternately portrayed as the brutal suppressor of a 1978 uprising and as a true national hero with widespread support. Reportedly, while serving under former President Cabral, Vieira and coup leader Correia resisted the shift from a peasant army to a more conventional military and will probably favor an army "active in setting up cooperatives and training programs." Reprinted from the March-April issue of Southern Africa.

IVORY COAST

"Bafing 81." Freres D'Armes, no. 110, May-June 1981, pp. 25-32.

Bafing 81, the large Franco-Ivory Coast military maneuver, took place in the Ivory Coast between 7 and 12 March 1981. Details and maps are provided.

MADAGASCAR

Jouffrey, Roger. "Didier Ratsiraka et le socialisme malgache (Didier Ratsiraka and Malagasy Socialism)." Afrique Contemporaine, no. 115, May-June 1981, pp. 6-12.

The rhetoric and reality of President Ratsiraka's socialism are put into historical perspective and evaluated. Ratsiraka's "in-all-directions" politics contrasts markedly from the postindependence government's neo-colonialism. Five years of socialism have engendered many problems by instituting class warfare. The author's pro-Marxist biases are obvious.

NAMIBIA

"Namibians Say Massive 'No' To Call-Up." New African, April 1981, p. 12.

Despite sizable unemployment, fewer than 3 percent of black Namibians of military age enlisted in Namibia's defense force. The first results of the recent draft indicate that many blacks have left their country to avoid the draft.

NIGERIA

Iroh, Eddie. "Radicals in Turmoil." Africa, June 1981, pp. 14-16.

Traces the roots of the split in the Nigerian People's Redemption Party (PRP), a populist, northern-based political organization. The schism between Aminu Kano, the "father of the party" and leader of one faction, and Kano State Governor Abubaker Rimi as leader of another faction, may spell the end of the PRP as a political entity in national affairs.

"Oil Glut Puts Nigerian Planners Over a Barrel." Africa Economic Digest, 14 August 1981, pp. 2-4.

Describes Nigeria's oil-related problems which revolve around an international glut of oil and Nigeria's refusal to lower prices. Production has fallen from 1.6 million b/d in September 1980 to 600,000 b/d for July 1981. The effect on revenues is obvious; the Petroleum Intelligence Weekly reports that Nigeria is receiving financial aid from Libya. Development spending will be cut back, but two huge projects will be spared: the Ajaokuta steel plant and the construction of a new capital at Abuja. Nigeria will have to lower prices and borrow from abroad until the market improves.

Yahaya, A.D. "PRP Crisis: The Truth of the Matter." West Africa, 15 June 1981, pp. 1349-53.

Written by a supporter of Governor Rimi of Kano State, the article criticizes the Aminu Kano faction of the People's Redemption Party (PRP), especially Sam Ikoku, an influential member of that faction. The tone is particularly strident against the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and attempts by the Aminu Kano faction to form an alliance with the NPN.

SENEGAL

Bessis, Sophie. "Faut-il Construire Les Barrages Sur le Senegal? (Is it Necessary to Build the Dams on the Senegal [River]?)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1072, 22 July 1981, pp. 53-56.

With 90 percent of the financing now certain, scientific misgivings are being echoed in the popular press concerning the massive Senegal River dams project. The Organization for the Development of the Senegal River Valley would demand ancillary investments which a Third World country would be hard pressed to supply. Completion of the projects would threaten to destroy the social patterns of thousands along the river.

"Senegal--Economic Review." Africa Research Bulletin, no. 5, vol. 18, 30 June 1981, pp. 6034-37.

The past performance of Senegal's economy is analyzed as a prelude to projecting future development. Industrial development has moved forward while other sectors suffer. However, industrialization has caused an increase in petroleum consumption (to produce electricity) which drains Senegal's finances. The new Sixth Plan (1981-85) emphasizes private investment rather than state involvement.

SOUTH AFRICA

Cavin, Tony. "What Oil Embargo?" Southern Africa, May-June 1981, pp. 11, 30-31.

Summarizes the Shipping Research Bureau's report on South African oil imports. The report states that South Africa can obtain all the oil it needs as long as it pays at least the spot market price. The report singled out the Shell company as the most frequent violator of the embargo.

Groenewald, Coen. "ISCOR Shows Its Mettle." South African Panorama, June 1981, pp. 1-5.

ISCOR, South Africa's Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation Limited, made a sizable profit during 1980 because of the country's booming economy. Largely a factual report on the Corporation's iron and steel production, the article states that South Africa could produce all forms of iron and steel if a mandatory economic embargo is placed on South Africa.

Groenewald, Coen. "We Share What We Have." South African Panorama, June 1981, pp. 28-31.

Engaging in a \$2 billion trade flow with black Africa, South Africa furnishes substantial food stuffs and transport infrastructure to the black states. The article suggests that trade as well as medical and agricultural expertise will increase when the "new imperialists," Cuba and the Soviet Union, leave the continent.

"How Anglo American Manipulates Africa's Mineral Wealth." New African, April 1981, pp. 61-2.

Despite its title, this article is largely a factual examination of the holdings of Anglo American (a large mining corporation) in strategic minerals in South Africa and the Front Line states.

Kotze, Hennie. "On Princes, Pawns, And Power." South Africa International, vol. 11, no. 4, 1981, pp. 228-39.

A survey of South African political figures that unsurprisingly concludes that many of the most well known public figures are among South Africa's leading influencers of public opinion.

O'Meara, Patrick. "South Africa: The Politics of Change." Current History, March 1981, pp. 111-114, 134.

A critical analysis of South Africa, contending that black protest and anger will increase. The South African Government's reforms have always proven inadequate, notably the President's Council that excludes blacks and the homelands which are glorified rural slums. While these reforms continue to fall short of black needs, young South African blacks are increasingly aware of their ability to affect events.

Tambo, Oliver R. "Extend and Defend Our Revolutionary Gains!" Sechaba, March 1981, pp. 2-13.

Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, believes that recent South African Government attempts to coopt the urban black elite have failed and that the Botha government is beginning open military rule. Tambo presents nine goals for which both blacks and whites should work, including the dismantling of the country's homelands.

SUDAN

Lycett, Andrew. "New Hope for the Sudan." Africa Report, vol. 26, no. 4, July-August 1981, pp. 37-39.

Discusses the important economic impact of various Sudanese agricultural projects. Particular attention is paid to raising sugar, cotton, and wheat.

"Sudan: The South Grumbles On." Africa Confidential, vol. 22, no. 14, 1 July 1981, pp. 5-7.

Focuses on the numerous problems facing Abdel Alier, Vice President of the Sudan and President of the Southern Sudan. Allegations of corruption and mismanagement are creating considerable unease among the "ordinary" people in the South, yet some of the leaders involved are too politically important for Alier merely to dismiss. In addition, the traditional ethnic problems in the South continue. Alier also faces the threat of an administrative "carve-up" of the South, Southern discontent over the loss of a major oil refinery to the north, etc. Despite all of this, the author concludes, "we think it unlikely that Alier will resign without a fight. We hear that there have already been two assassination attempts against him. He spends most of his nights in a military barracks. He knows he faces a dangerous uphill task. At present his aim is political survival."

TOGO

"Koronga 81." Freres D'Armes, no. 110, May-June 1981, pp. 33-39.

Koronga 81, a joint military maneuver, highlighted the Franco-Togo military alliance and the importance of France in West Africa. The article provides a detailed account of the military games for 1981 as well as a special section on the Togo Radio Company and its contribution to the war games.

UGANDA

"Uganda: Opposition Alliance." Africa Confidential, 15 July 1981, pp. 6-7.

Negotiations have taken place between the anti-Obote groups resulting in a merger of the Popular Resistance Army (PRA) led by Y. Museveni, and the Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF), whose leader has now been identified as Y. Lule, the President of Uganda during the first 68 days after Amin's ouster. According to the details of the merger agreement, the armies will be united and led by Museveni but will be under the general direction of the National Resistance Council headed by Lule.

ZAIRE

Kazadi, F.S.B. "Zaire 1981: Recovery or Relapse?" Africa Report, vol. 26, no. 4, July-August 1981, pp. 40-43.

Zaire has had a virtually uninterrupted history of plunder since the 18th century; the Zairian economy today continues to suffer from inflation, loss of productivity, corruption, and monetary weakness. In sum, Zaire has one of the poorest economic records on the continent. Despite this, Zaire is a richly endowed state and continues to attract development aid and projects sponsored by multilateral lending institutions and foreign governments. The country could either recover from its ills or relapse and possibly collapse.

"Zaire: Storm Signals." Foreign Report, 30 April 1981, pp. 6-7.

Zaire might be in for another bout of political trouble, the most obvious symptom being the recent resignation of Prime Minister Karl-I-Bond. His resignation follows a spate of political arrests and reports of unrest in outlying districts, most notably in Kivu Province. Other symptoms include the return to power of several members of the old "Binza group," which led Zaire in the late 1960s, and the formation of an alliance of opposition groups (known as the Council for the Liberation of Congo-Kinshasa/CLC) in Brussels, Belgium.

ZIMBABWE

Davis, John. "Growth with Equity." Commerce, April 1981, pp. 7, 9.

A review of the general philosophy underlying the Zimbabwe economic blueprint issued in March. The author endorses the theme that the government is committed to equitable social programs and a mixed economy in which an increasing amount of control and ownership of "the country's capital stock" will pass to the state or Zimbabwean nationals.

Hull, Richard W. "Zimbabwe: Time Running Out." Current History, March 1981, pp. 120-31.

Praises Prime Minister Mugabe's actions during the first year of independence as proving him "one of the most intelligent, reasonable, and respected leaders on the continent." Major events of the first year are described. The article was written before the weeklong donor's conference in March which showed extensive pledged financial support from the West.

Mbanga, Wilf. "Lome Convention Seminar." Commerce, April 1981, pp. 11, 13.

Reports on a 2-day conference on benefits available to Zimbabwe after joining the Lome Convention. Representatives of the EEC and the European Investment Bank attended the meeting. Some procedures and rules regarding exports are detailed.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in September 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

"African Finance." Africa Economic Digest, 18 September 1981, pp. 2-22.

Meant to coincide with the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, this overview of Africa's economic crisis provides fairly detailed coverage of topics such as risk in lending arrangements, European and Arab funding, and international financial corporations. Conditions in Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are examined in detail.

"Arms and a Continent: Africa's Quest For Power." New African, August 1981, pp. 16-20.

Examines and then discounts the possibility of black Africa creating a military force strong enough to challenge South Africa. Open warfare would pose insurmountable problems of language, politics, logistics, sovereignty, supplies and spare parts. The article maintains that protracted guerrilla warfare offers the best chance for toppling the Nationalist regime. Also included is an incomplete compilation of recent ordnance from Western nations to South Africa.

Brittain, Victoria. "The Kampala Summit: A New Era of Cooperation?" Sudanow (Khartoum), February 1981, pp. 24-25.

The January 1981 Kampala Summit brought together the leaders of Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, and Uganda. The meeting marked the return to power of Milton Obote as President of Uganda, and was the first step toward improving Kenya's relations with her neighbors. The author concludes that the meeting was the most optimistic development in East African politics in many years. The article also reviews the numerous problems between these East African countries and briefly recounts some of the major problems facing other states in the area, Sudan and Zaire in particular.

Croan, Melvin. "A New Afrika Korps?" Washington Quarterly, vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 21-37. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 2 (February 1981), p. 628.

A decade ago, East Germany was not even formally recognized by a single African state. Today it is actively involved in the internal affairs of a number of African nations and enjoys considerable prestige throughout the continent. Above all, East Germany's political solidarity with various national liberation movements and "socialist oriented" states has established a foothold for East Germany in Africa.

Dunn, Michael C. "Changing Shadows in the Horn." Defense & Foreign Affairs (UK), May 1981, pp. 40-42.

The author sees both Moscow and Washington soon facing major challenges in the Horn as a result of political instability in Ethiopia and/or Somalia. The Soviet military entree in Ethiopia and US military access to Somalia will be under great pressure from local political changes.

Grabendorff, Wolf. "Cuba's Involvement in Africa: An Interpretation of Objectives, Reactions, and Limitations." Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs vol. 22, no. 1 (February 1980), pp. 3-30. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 2 (February 1981), p. 636.

Inter-African developments could directly affect the future success of Cuban intervention. The limits to Cuban influence become visible where consolidation of power has been accomplished and discussions start about divergent concepts of the political and economic systems. Another restriction to Cuba's influence is its identification with the USSR.

Paris, Henri. "L'action Recente des Sovietiques en Afrique (Recent Soviet action in Africa)." Defense Nationale (November 1980), pp. 41-52. Cited in International Political Science Abstracts, vol. 31, no. 2 (February 1981), p. 666.

In 1980, nearly half of Africa was affected by expanding Soviet influence. Almost 80,000 civilian and military personnel represent the Communist Bloc countries in Africa. In the civilian arena, they use diplomacy, cultural cooperation and commercial agreements. In the military arena, the Soviets transfer arms and equipment and use Cubans to carry out overt military activities in Africa. In fact, Soviet advances in Africa are more a result of Cuban involvement than of cooperation plans. According to the author, the principal Soviet objective is to deny Europe access to African raw materials.

BOTSWANA

Malik, Machoki. "A Much Needed Census." Africa News, 3 August 1981, pp. 8-9.

Observers believe that Botswana's first census since 1971 will indicate that a booming mineral economy has increased urbanization and unemployment. Botswana's work force is expected to increase from 87,000 in 1979 to 515,000 in 1985. The government hopes that the census results will assist its development planning.

CAMEROON

"Cameroon border clash." West Africa, 25 May 1981, pp. 1149-50.

Written one week after the Nigeria-Cameroon border incident, this article mentions the events that occurred. It also briefly touches on the historic problems and rivalries between the two nations in the border area.

CHAD

Orsani, Michel. "La Libye au Tchad--et Ailleurs (Libya in Chad--and Elsewhere)." Projet, no. 153, March 1981, pp. 364-68.

The most serious threat that Libya poses in Chad is its support for the creation of a pro-Libyan security force. The Libyan presence has created an atmosphere of destabilization and Libyan links are seen in the rioting in Kano, Nigeria, and the overthrow of the civilian government in Chad. In spite of strong Soviet support of Libya, the author does not view Libya as a dependable ally of the Soviet Union.

DJIBOUTI

"Djibouti: The Dilemma in the Horn of Africa." New African, August 1981, pp. 31-32.

This article describes the historical balancing act that Djibouti plays in order to retain a semblance of independence from its two neighbors, Ethiopia and Somalia. The recent rapprochement between Djibouti and Ethiopia, especially the reopening of the vital railway connecting the two nations, is highlighted.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Gilroy, Tom. "Equatorial Guinea...Slow Recovery of a Battered Economy." Africa Economic Digest, 29 May 1981, pp. 4-5.

Twenty-one months after the overthrow of Macias Nguema, Equatorial Guinea's economic recovery is making some progress. Basic services have been restored and reconstruction of the capital is under way. But there are major obstacles to increasing exports--and thus foreign exchange earnings--and the country remains dependent on foreign aid. Cocoa and timber output has increased but is still only at a quarter of pre-independence levels. Further progress will need time and more investment.

ETHIOPIA

Nichols, Peter. "Italy Takes Initiative in Ogden Dispute." The Times (London), 20 August 1981, p. 5.

Italy is assigning itself a fresh role in the Horn of Africa with Emilio Colombo, the Foreign Minister, taking the lead. He has just returned from visits to Addis Ababa and Mogadishu in pursuit of a strategy of opening multiple lines of contact without putting much pressure on the delicate situation. Italy feels that it has a particularly dynamic role to play in the Horn of Africa stemming from its historical ties with the region's actors and because its present ties with Somalia (the major beneficiary of Italy's foreign aid) might lead to a breakthrough in blunting President Siad Barre's irredentism.

"Where Khaki Rules the Blue." New African, May 1981, pp. 36-37.

In December 1979, Ethiopia's ruling military leadership, the Derg, ordered a transition to civilian rule by decreeing the establishment of a socialist political party that would take shape under the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE). Since that time, the shift to civilian rule has made no progress: 79 individuals of the 93-member COPWE central committee are associated with the military or security services, and of the 31 alternate members, 16 are military.

GAMBIA

"Gambia: Popular Plots." Africa Confidential, 19 August 1981, pp. 5-7.

Summarizes the political climate in Gambia after the July/August coup attempt. Sheriff Mustapha Dibba, a long-time opposition leader, has become the scapegoat in the affair: he is to be tried for treason. The article suggests that President Jawara has blocked legitimate opposition and has rigged elections. Other Gambian political parties are discussed and brief mention is given to the state of the economy.

GHANA

Barnor, Ansah. "The Floundering Minor Parties in Ghana." West Africa, 27 July 1981, pp. 1702-4.

In June 1981, the five minor political parties in Ghana announced that they would merge to form a united front to challenge the ruling People's National Party (PNP) in the 1983 parliamentary elections and the 1984 presidential elections. As expected, serious philosophical and personality conflicts are impeding the progress of the planned merger. Given these differences, the cohesiveness and eventual success of this merger against the PNP is in doubt.

"Ghana: Limann and the IMF." Africa Confidential, 2 September 1981, pp. 5-6.

Ghana may be near an accord with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) worth \$400 million this year and up to \$1 billion over the next 3 years. To complete the agreement, Ghana must fulfill four IMF conditions: triple the official cocoa producer price, eliminate subsidies on fuel imports, trim the civil service, and restructure the official exchange rate. Resistance to these measures will be intense but Ghana has little option but to agree.

Gray, Paul S. "The Genesis of Trade Unions in Ghana." Journal of African Studies, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1981), pp. 72-78.

Traces the origins of the Ghanaian union movement, examines the establishment of the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Ghana's umbrella labor organization, and discusses the influence that the labor movement has had on politics. That the unions have outlived each of the postindependence regimes indicates the continuing maturity of the TUC.

Kofi, Tettah A. "How Nigeria Can Help Ghana." West Africa, 27 July 1981, pp. 1705-08.

The author, a Marxist, blames Ghana's economic problems on a "westernized consumption pattern" and a declining agricultural base. The lesser developed countries (LDCs) can no longer rely on increased growth of imports by the developed countries to sustain and generate economic development. The only avenue open to the LDCs is to increase trade among themselves. Nigeria should help Ghana because both countries share a "common historical heritage and common economic strictures of underdevelopment." Kofi mentions Nigeria's oil production cutback but fails to relate this to a revenue shortfall and decreased ability to offer loans to Ghana.

Waldmeir, Patti. "Causes of Fighting in Ghana." West Africa, 20 July 1981, pp. 1629-31.

Reports on tribal fighting in northern Ghana between the Konkomba and Nanumba tribes resulting from a minor squabble between royal families. The police and military are faulted for poorly handling the situation. Police sources indicate that transport and communications difficulties contributed to the tragedy. The number of police and soldiers in the area is placed at 200. Troops from the Tamale barracks finally arrived to prevent further destruction in other towns.

GUINEA

Hecht, Robert. "A Long Wait for Guinea's Farmers." West Africa, 30 March 1981, pp. 678-81.

The tragic state of Guinea, potentially one of the richest nations in Africa, is exemplified by the state of Guinea's agriculture. State planning and prohibitions on trade have created a black market, and state farms have been disappointing. Peasant farming, once the backbone of Guinea's production of food surpluses, has been ignored and penalized by the country's socialist thrust.

Smouts, Marie-Claude. "La Normalisation des Rapports Franco-Guinea: Analyse d'Une Mediation (The Normalisation of Franco-Guinean Political Relations: An Analysis of a Compromise)." Revue Francaise de Science Politique, vol. 31, no. 3 (June 1981), pp. 563-80.

Although Mitterrand's victory may render the arguments of the article academic, the history of the Franco-Guinean split and 12 years of ensuing tense relations are discussed. Both sides are ready for reestablishing good political relations.

LESOTHO

Murray, Roger. "Jonathan Returns To Pretoria's Fold." New African, May 1981, pp. 40-41.

In 1976 Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, changed his foreign policy by adopting a militantly anti-South Africa stance. South Africa thereupon began aiding the Lesotho Liberation Party, a guerrilla group opposed to Jonathan. Unable to destroy the Liberation Party, Jonathan has resumed his previously close ties with South Africa. The most important single benefit to Lesotho will be a \$1 billion water and electricity project financed by South African capital.

MOZAMBIQUE

Hanlon, Joseph. "Mozambique: Adjusting Course." Africa News, 20 July 1981, pp. 4-5, 9-10.

Soldiers have been mobilized to fill the shortage of labor for harvesting and other work. Although private enterprise in smaller businesses was encouraged last year, abuses by the small businessmen has provoked an angry reaction by the government. Tension between the shopkeepers and the government is evident over a rationing system of goods. The government has also revitalized workers' committees in factories.

NAMIBIA

"Namibia: An Aftermath To South Africa's Battle." Africa Confidential, 2 September 1981, pp. 1-2.

Believes that South Africa's offensive into Angola will aid pro-South African lobbying groups in England and the US. Names several of these groups and their recent activities.

"Namibia On The Threshold Of Freedom." World Marxist Review, July 1981, pp. 98-101.

In an interview, Sam Nujoma, President of the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) criticizes both the US and South Africa. Nujoma attacks the US Government for considering SWAPO a "terrorist" organization. He attacks South Africa for believing that violence is the only way to reach a Namibian settlement and for believing that the South African-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance will grow more popular over time. Nujoma concludes by stating that SWAPO can now "strike crippling blows on the enemy."

NIGER

"Mise en Service d'un Complexe Thermique a Anou-Araren (The Thermoelectrical Complex of Anou-Araren Begins Service)." Afrique Contemporaine, no. 116, July-August 1981, pp. 21-23.

Although the coal-powered thermoelectrical power plant in northern Niger is small, it represents Niger's hopes for energy self-sufficiency. Its importance to Niger's uranium production and economic well-being is inestimable. Detailed technical information on the plant as well as projections of its potential are presented.

NIGERIA

"Nigeria: Political Realignments." Africa Confidential, 19 August 1981, pp. 1-4.

A synopsis of the political and economic situation in Nigeria. Domestic political strife is typified by the removal of Kaduna State Governor Musa, the splintering of the People's Redemption Party, and possible realinements of other minority parties. Oil revenues are off substantially and will mean huge deficits. Foreign affairs shortcomings include Chad and dealing with Libya, and the Cameroon border incident. Rumors claim that dissaffection in the military has resulted in three mutinies. In December 1980 in the Lagos garrisons 10 soldiers were killed while in Benin city some 30 were killed. In April 1981 in Kaduna about 300 deaths resulted.

Umoh, Umoh James. "New Trade Union Body Is Formed in Nigeria." West Africa, 13 July 1981, pp. 1570-71.

Describes the establishment of the Congress of Democratic Trade Unions of Nigeria (CDTUN), a labor organization which will compete with the predominant Nigerian Labor Congress (NLC). This development is the result of a struggle within the NLC between "Marxists" and "Democrats;" the latter presumably will form the CDTUN. Legislation which now treats the NLC as the sole national labor organization will have to be altered. Reportedly, the CDTUN has the support of 22 out of 42 industrial labor unions.

Wright, Stephen. "Limits of Nigeria's Power Overseas." West Africa, 27 July 1981, pp. 1685-87.

Cites Nigerian diplomatic successes as helping to bring Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) into existence (over French hostility), promoting Angolan independence (over US opposition), and nationalizing BP's holdings in Nigeria. On the other hand, Nigeria's use of oil as a foreign policy weapon is a fiction because it relies heavily on oil revenues. Nigeria has not been able to accelerate talks on Namibian independence nor could it even get its dispute with Cameroon on the OAU agenda. In addition, the need for expatriated personnel in Nigeria allows "manipulation of the economy" by multi-national corporations. Nigeria's desire to acquire a nuclear capability to counter South Africa's nuclear program is debunked as folly.

SENEGAL

"Diouf Gathers Strength." Africa Confidential, 22 April 1981, pp. 3-5.

President Diouf's political successes are cataloged and assessed. By liberalizing the political process, Diouf will probably defuse political opposition. He has good Muslim credentials and gets on well with the leaders of the two leading Muslim brotherhoods. The major question remains the Senegalese economy which needs extensive assistance. Although Diouf may want to distance himself from African policy, he must tread softly and exercise France's diplomacy.

"Senegal - Le Budget de la Defense 1981/1982 Represente 12,75% du Budget de Fonctionnement (Senegal - The 1981-82 Defense Budget Represents 12.75% of the Total Budget)." Afrique Defense, July 1981, pp. 54-55.

The Senegalese national defense budget for 1981-82, expenses for each unit, and discussions of the budget committees are assessed. The cost of Senegalese participation in the UNIFIL contingent received careful scrutiny by the committees as did adequate surveillance of Senegal's coastline and more remote regions. The question of intervention costs in Cambia (in November 1980) was also an important topic.

SOMALIA

Sheik-Abdi, Abdi. "Ideology and Leadership in Somalia." The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 163-72.

The 1977-78 war in the Horn of Africa and its traumatic aftermath has left Somalia demoralized and isolated. A chaotic socioeconomic situation has compounded Somalia's plight and it would not be inconceivable that a reorientation to the USSR would best enhance its national security and President Siad Barre's rule. The author contends that Somalia, is being forced into a reconciliation with Moscow because of the growing threat from the Ethiopian military build-up and because of Somalia's failure to win powerful allies to act as counterweights. The alternative to a return to the Soviet fold is for the Somali leadership to enter into a "Somoza-style" relationship with the US.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Arab States To Plug 'Oil To SA' Loopholes." New African, May 1981, pp. 23-24.

Six Arab oil-producing states are embarrassed by the publication of evidence that their oil has been surreptitiously reaching South Africa. Despite its title, the article does not explain how these producing states plan to prevent future shipments to South Africa. Much of the article examines evidence of oil shipments to South Africa.

"Being A Navy Diver No Job For The Faint-Hearted." Paratus, July 1981, pp. 28-29.

Describes briefly the South African Navy's training of its divers and the three levels of diving expertise within the navy.

Crocker Chester. "Current and Projected Military Balances in Southern Africa," in Crocker, Chester and Bissell, Richard, eds., South Africa Into The 1980s. Boulder: Westview, 1979, pp. 71-105.

Proposes and then examines possible future military scenarios for South Africa. Bissell and Crocker note South Africa's superior military technology and that it "has just begun to tap its substantial manpower reserves," yet they believe that by the mid-1980s military technology may be less important than white migration, South Africa's economic position, and the rate and effect of domestic political reforms. The authors observe that South Africa has several gaps in its military production, including tank guns, helicopters and fire control radar.

Deacon, John. "Ship In The Sky." Panorama, July 1981, pp. 15-17.

Pictorial description of an oil rig operation off Mossel Bay, the site of a promising oil and gas discovery.

Grenville-Grey, Wilfred. "What Prospects For Human Rights?" Africa Report, September-October 1981, pp. 41-44.

The author implies that South Africa is more amenable to external pressure to reform than other oppressive regimes because of shared cultural and political traditions with the West. The author argues that the US should show financial and political support for the liberation movements and that the South African Government should adopt a bill of rights.

Gutteridge, William. "South Africa: Strategy For Survival?" Conflict Studies, June 1981, p. 33.

Up-to-date and wide-ranging analysis of South Africa's various strategies and chances for peace. After an interesting discussion of South Africa's Defense Force, Gutteridge suggests that the increasingly effective black trade unions are more likely to threaten the Nationalist Government than any internal guerrilla movement. Gutteridge believes that the best chances for reform lie with the South Africans and that while the West should sustain "credible" pressures, such as the EEC code of practice, he believes that economic sanctions would increase black-white polarization. While implying that any governmental change will probably come too late, Gutteridge hopes that the Nationalist Government could institute economic and social parity even if legal separation continued.

Hexham, Irving. "Dutch Calvinism And The Development of Afrikaner Nationalism." African Affairs, vol. 79, no. 315 (1980), pp. 195-208.

Hexham disputes the common assumption that Nationalist Party principles are consistent with the Calvinism practiced in South Africa since the 17th century. Hexham notes that Afrikaners had various religious schisms and that it was not until this century that a conservative Calvinism emerged as the driving force of Afrikaner political philosophy.

"Interview: Donald B. Sole." Africa Report, September-October 1981, pp. 14-19.

Donald Sole, South Africa's Ambassador to the US, argues the importance of South Africa to the western alliance. He notes the mineral contribution of his country to the West and the economic contribution that South Africa makes to the Frontline states, a contribution which if allowed to increase could retard Moscow's hegemonic ambitions. Finally, Ambassador Sole defends the legitimacy of South Africa's "independent" homelands.

"Interview: Oliver Tambo." Africa Report, September-October 1981, pp. 20-22.

Tambo, President of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, stresses the democratic and nonracial aspects of the ANC. Tambo criticizes multinational investment in South Africa and maintains that if foreign businesses remain until black independence, the new black government would then require them to leave.

"Police Move On Black Labor Leaders." Africa News, 6 July 1981, pp. 3-5.

The South African Government is increasingly concerned about possible political activity by the recently legalized black trade unions. The government is now conducting its biggest crackdown on dissidents in 4 years and has arrested a number of top union officials. The article states that the African National Congress' credo of a nonracial black consciousness has replaced "Black Consciousness" as the dominant radical philosophy. The article also notes the arrest of top leaders of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council.

"Profile: Alfred Nzo." Sechaba, March 1981, pp. 31-32.

Documents the life of protest conducted by the present Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"SA Stands Strong." Financial Mail, 17 April 1981, pp. 272-76.

Analyses the military balance of power in southern Africa. Relying upon public information, the article notes several liabilities of South Africa's defense force (a shortage of new tanks and maritime patrol planes) as well as recent probable arms acquisitions (mostly from Israel). Looking at the Frontline States, the article states that Cuban technicians have maintained Mozambique's 350 tanks extremely well, that low morale has been noted among Cuban and Angolan personnel, and that 200 ANC guerrillas are stationed with Joshua Nkomo's loyalists in Zimbabwe.

"South Africa Pretends That Gold Retains Its Glitter." Economist, 15 August 1981, pp. 51-52.

After its gold-induced boom, South Africa is suffering from rising inflation and an economic slowdown. The dip in the growth rate from 8 percent to 4.5 percent will increase the restiveness among many black laborers. Finance Minister Owen Horwood places most of his hope for economic recovery on a rise in the gold price.

"South Africa's Black Opposition." Foreign Report, 25 June 1981, pp. 2-3.

While noting Moscow's links with the African National Congress (ANC), the article maintains that ANC members were responsible for the ANC's new policy of attacking a wide range of targets within South Africa. The article also notes a "steady stream" of defectors to the ANC from black consciousness groups.

"Southern Africa: Key To US Security." New African, May 1981, pp. 43-44.

Notes the importance of strategic minerals to Western economies and believes that this importance helps explain why the Reagan administration opposes United Nations sanctions against South Africa.

Tutu, Desmond. "The Future of South Africa." Africa Report, September-October 1981, pp. 4-5.

Describes the diminished black expectations after 2 years of rule by Prime Minister Botha. While applauding Botha for several actions, such as streamlining governmental bureaucracy, Tutu believes that the Prime Minister is caught between two increasingly polarized factions--the conservative whites and the radical, mostly young, blacks. Bishop Tutu, who is general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, mentions no political role for South Africa's churches but points to the black labor unions as "the power to watch."

Uys, Stanley. "Is Partition The Answer?" Africa Report, September-October 1981, pp. 45-49.

A provocative article that scans the various proposals to partition South Africa into racial or multiracial zones. Dismissing most of them as impractical, Uys focuses upon a recent proposal by Professor Jan Lombard. A key advisor to Prime Minister Botha, Lombard has suggested the restructuring of South Africa into a confederation of eight units. Each zone would be multiracial with massive decentralization of government to regional authorities. Uys reports that Lombard's report is considered as a trial balloon for future proposals by the Botha government.

VerLoran van Themaat Centre For International Law. South African Yearbook of International Law. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1979, 274 pp.

Includes articles on Venda's independence, Walvis Bay administration, and South Africa's foreign policy during 1979.

"What Women Under Apartheid Are Doing." New African, May 1981, pp. 19-20.

Describes the limited work opportunities, low pay, restrictive social laws, and how South African women have organized politically to protest government repression.

SUDAN

"Sudan: Attempted Coup." African Research Bulletin, 1-31 March 1981, pp. 5997-98.

A brief overview of the background and aftermath of the attempted coup in early March. The article discusses the Libyan intervention in Chad, the threat of Libyan-backed "subversion" in Sudan ("nobody seriously believes in a Libyan invasion"), and Sudan's abrupt political shift toward the US. The article concludes with an English translation of the official Sudanese communique "clarifying" its offer of military facilities to the US.

Watkins, Georgia. "Sudan's Oil Proves a Mixed Blessing." Africa Economic Digest, 12 June 1981, p. 15.

Discusses problems involved in the extraction of Sudanese oil. The flow of oil at most wells is not great, and the quality of Sudanese oil is not good. In addition, most finds are located in difficult and isolated terrain. Sudan also lacks a good transport infrastructure.

UPPER VOLTA

Kiba, Simon. "La Haute-Volta Apres le Coup d'Etat (Upper Volta After the Coup d'Etat)." Bingo (Dakar), no. 340, May 1981, pp. 18-20, 25.

Corruption and the exclusion of dissidents from politics are given as major reasons for the coup d'etat which installed a new military government in Upper Volta on 25 November 1981. Although the military talks about morality and cleaning house, its control is tenuous and its ability to return the country to a true democracy remains in question.

Rondos, Alex. "Upper Volta's Recovery Plan." West Africa, 13 July 1981, pp. 1583-85.

The speech of Colonel Saye Zerbo, Upper Volta's military head of state, is assessed; specifically discussed is the recovery plan. Economic development, the core of the plan, will require extensive government involvement in planning and agricultural production. The plan touches on all aspects of life in Upper Volta from village improvement to transportation to education. Some definite results are needed to sustain the good will of the people toward the military government.

Yarga, Larba. "La Fin de la III^e Republic Voltaique (The End of the Third Upper Volta Republic)." Revue Francaise d'Etudes Politiques africaines, nos. 182-183, February-March 1981, pp. 43-51.

The history of the short-lived Third Upper Volta Republic are chronicled and analyzed. The role of the student unions in overthrowing the republic in favor of the military receives much attention.

ZAIRE

Alima, Jos-Blaise. "Pourquoi Je Suis Parti (Why I left)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1061, 6 May 1981, pp. 17-18.

Former Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond details the reasons for his resignation and self-imposed exile. The article also recounts the numerous charges leveled against Nguza Karl-I-Bond by the Mobutu regime since his resignation.

"Zaire: The New Anxiety." Africa Confidential, 20 May 1981, pp. 3-5.

This article outlines the major problems currently facing the Mobutu regime. First among these is the defeat of Mobutu's "best friend in Europe," former French President Giscard d'Estaing. Mobutu can no longer count on unquestioned French support. Likewise, although Zaire has signed various agreements with Angola and Zambia, there is no absolute guarantee that either neighbor can control or is willing to control anti-Mobutu forces based within their borders. There is also a potential threat from the anti-Mobutu forces based in Belgium. the recent resignation of Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond, his self-imposed exile in Belgium, and charges of corruption in high places in the Mobutu regime, continue to pose serious problems for the current regime in Kinshasa.

ZIMBABWE

Mbanga, Trish. "Skilled Workforce Needed." Commerce, May 1981, pp. 4-6.

Interview with Dr. Frederick Shava, the Zimbabwean Minister of Manpower Planning and Development who replaced Edgar Tekere after he was relieved of his position by Prime Minister Mugabe. Shava plans to persuade employers to take on more black apprentices in order to correct the racial imbalance. He also plans to expand the technical colleges and will discourage expatriate labor.

Moorcraft, Paul. "Will There Be a Civil War in Zimbabwe?" South Africa International, vol. 11, no. 4, April 1981, pp. 240-55.

Views events of Zimbabwe's first year of independence with an unnecessary emphasis on ethnic rivalries. The author believes that there will not be a civil war because of the astute political leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in October 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

"Africa--France: President Mitterand's Election and its Implications." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 May 1981, pp. 6055-57.

France's relations with all of Africa--and especially with Francophone Africa--are likely to change with the new Socialist government in power in Paris. The Socialists have advocated policy revisions on French military bases in Africa, and, consequently, are likely to renegotiate some aspects of existing French military cooperation and defense agreements. Other changes in French policy might occur with South Africa, Morocco, Ethiopia, and Libya. The article concludes with a critical overview of Mitterand's "oversimplifications" concerning African political realities.

"Africa Looks Hard at Some New Transportation Links." New African, May 1981, p. 38.

Ministers of Transport and Communications from Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania met for a 2-day conference in Arusha (Tanzania) in February to discuss developing and expanding regional transport and communications facilities. The conference focused primarily on surface transport. The established priority project for the area is the development of a "central transportation corridor" to the Indian Ocean. The corridor comprises existing or proposed inter-state routes from the eastern flank of Zaire through Burundi, Rwanda and southern Uganda to the sea ports of Dar es Salaam and Tanga in Tanzania. The article contains a map of the proposed "corridor" and statistics concerning trade volume over the route.

Enloe, Cynthia H. Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1980, 228 pp. Reviewed by M. Crawford Young in The American Political Science Review, vol. 75, no. 2 (June 1981), p. 530.

A valuable study which joins ethnic questions with military ones. The author demonstrates how crucial "ethnic calculus" has been in controlling strategies for the creation and deployment of security forces. She addresses such questions as "what social composition must a constabulary have to repress uprisings among those groups where unrest is most likely?" Whereas most studies of this sort focus on armies, Enloe also treats police forces, navies, and air forces.

Gutteridge, William. "Why Trade with Socialist Africa?" African Business, April 1981, pp. 13-15.

Many Socialist African countries are unhappy with their existing links with the Soviet Union. Trade with East European centrally planned economies has left African nations in almost continuous deficit with them. Africa's suspi-

cions of Western multinational corporations is matched by its doubts about Soviet methods. In short, there is ample room for Western commercial initiatives in Socialist Africa. Includes charts and a map illustrating Communist economic technicians in Africa.

Humasi, Nana. "Arms and a Continent: Africa's Quest for Power." New African, August 1981, pp. 16-20.

A broad and rather uninformative overview touching on superpower confrontation in Africa, internal African conflicts, and the possibility of forming regional or pan-African security forces. Concludes that guerrilla warfare is the most effective way to forcibly liberate southern Africa. Statistics are derived from The Military Balance.

Killick, Sir John. "Southern Africa In Turmoil." NATO's Fifteen Nations, August-September 1980, pp. 34-42.

A largely unfocused article that contends that South Africa is shedding its apartheid system as rapidly as domestic politics allow. The United States should support the present government's moderating tendencies. Killick claims that the National Resistance Movement in Mozambique draws much of its support from opposition to collectivized farming and the government's "suppression" of the Catholic church.

Paden, John N., ed. Values, Identities, and National Integration: Empirical Research in Africa. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1980, 404 pp. Reviewed by Michael G. Schatzberg in The American Political Science Review, vol. 75, no. 2 (June 1981), pp. 547-48.

Values and identities are key components of national integration and are discussed in essays on Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, and Zaire. In each case, the writer examines social patterns which affect orientations toward authority, community, conflict resolution, and innovation. Unfortunately, the studies by themselves merely invite further research and make no breakthroughs in social theory.

"SADCC: Second Summit Conference." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 July - 14 August 1981, pp. 6096-97.

Briefly discusses the Second Summit of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) held in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, in July 1981. The SADCC was formed in 1980 to promote economic cooperation among Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe and to reduce their dependence on South Africa. The article contains an excellent map of the transport infrastructure in these countries.

BURUNDI

Magina, Magina. "Burundi Hits Nickel." Africa, June 1981, pp. 105-6.

The recent discovery of 373 million tons of nickel ore on the Musongati Plateau in central Burundi "is sending ripples of excitement through the

world of investment." Furthermore, the Burundi government reports that significant amounts of copper, cobalt, and platinum group metals are unique characteristics of these deposits. Despite some mining logistics problems, this discovery holds excellent potential for Burundi's economic future.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

"Central African Republic: Emergency Plan." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 July - 14 August 1981, pp. 6107-9.

The poor economic situation in the Central African Republic (CAR) is one of the government's prime concerns. In July 1981, the government announced an emergency economic recovery plan set up to cover the years 1981-82, before the country embarks on its next five-year development plan. The impact of the fall of the Dacko government in September 1981 on this plan is not known; however, the new regime may use it as a basis for handling economic recovery. The article includes detailed information on priority projects and investments.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

"Equatorial Guinea Looks to the West." Foreign Report, 14 May 1981, p. 6.

Prior to the 1979 coup, the Soviets were the dominant foreign influence in Equatorial Guinea. In May 1981, the Soviets were asked to reduce their embassy staff in the capital from 195 to 15. This request followed an attempted coup in April. Disagreement between pro-Western President Obiang Nguema and pro-Soviet Vice-President Maye Ela over the importance of close cooperation with Russia appears to have triggered the attempted coup. Although the Vice-President has kept his post, he has been "packed off" to Peru to discuss trade links. The President has been to Spain, Morocco and France in search of aid, and the International Monetary Fund is also helping out.

ETHIOPIA

"Ethiopia: Conquest and Terror." Horn of Africa, vol. 4, no. 1 (1980/81), pp. 8-19.

An excellent short history and analysis of Ethiopia's political and economic system with special focus on the problems involving the non-Amharic regions. Information on the many "Red Terror" campaigns is highlighted by eyewitness accounts, and useful facts are provided on the size and morale of the Ethiopian Armed Forces and the support it derives from the Soviet Bloc.

GHANA

Ohene, Elizabeth. "Ghana's Two Years of Civilian Rule." West Africa, 21 September 1981, pp. 2169-70.

The author, who was involved in a constitutional dispute with the civilian government, presents a cynical appraisal of President Limann's adminis-

tration. Responding to Limann's assertion that his greatest achievement thus far is that he has "survived," Ohene writes that mere survival will not be enough to satisfy hungry Ghanaians.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Chabal, Patrick. "The Social and Political Thought of Amilcar Cabral: A Reassessment." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 31-56.

Although often associated with Marxist thinking, Cabral was first and foremost a nationalist. He usually confined his thinking to conditions in Guinea-Bissau, often refuting the applicability of Marxism to Africa. Preferring political analysis to ideology, Cabral's thoughts reflect a high degree of realism and independence.

Foy, Colin. "Serious Dilemma Facing the 'Rice Coup' Rulers." New African, August 1981, pp. 26-27.

Foy claims that when Guinea-Bissau's current leaders seized power in November 1980, their initial support was contingent on their ability to provide rice supplies. He suggests now that support for Guinea-Bissau's regime is shaky at best, but does not mention President Nino Vieira's war-hero status and the adulation Bissauns hold for him. The article also discusses what events might take place between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

MADAGASCAR

Desjeux, Dominique. "Reforme Fonciere et Civilisation Agraire a Madagascar (Land Reform and Agrarian Civilization in Madagascar)." Le Mois en Afrique, nos. 184-185, April-May 1981, pp. 55-61.

The land reform proposed by the Malagasy Government must overcome traditional practices if it is to be successful. The plan of 1978 emphasizes cooperatives, state farms and new technology; its success or failure depends on whether the peasants can be convinced that the government efforts are to their benefit.

MAURITIUS

Houbert, Jean. "Mauritius: Independence and Dependence." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 19, no. 1 (1981), pp. 75-105.

A short political and economic history of Mauritius, emphasizing the themes of overpopulation and economic dependence. Mauritius has a sophisticated political environment which evolved under British tutelage. Expectations are high, but dependence on the EEC and the world capitalist order are projected for the future.

MOZAMBIQUE

"Mozambique: Bitter Dawn at Matola." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 35-37.

Describes several Mozambican officers accused of cowardice or complicity during the January 1981 raid by South Africa into Mozambique. Mentions counter-revolutionary units training at Phalaborwa and Durban. A separate section details an oil arrangement between Mozambique and South Africa by which half the oil processed in Maputo is sold to South Africa.

NAMIBIA

"Great White Hope." Economist, 12 September 1981, pp. 39-40.

Cautions that South Africa is unlikely to approve and implement a new US plan for Namibian independence. The South Africans apparently are buying time while they try to create a buffer zone in southern Angola and strengthen their political allies in Namibia.

NIGER

Duteil, Mireille. "Le Niger: Apres le Mirage de l'Uranium (Niger: After the Uranium Mirage)." Croissance, no. 229 (June 1981), pp. 19-26.

A general background of the uranium boom in Niger and the changes it has brought. A conservative course by the military government has brought many benefits and caused few disruptions. Because of uranium, nearly 6,000 Frenchmen now live and work in Niger. The article praises the austerity of the military government which has charted an ambitious development course.

NIGERIA

Ruddell, David. "New States for Old." West Africa, 21 September 1981, pp. 2161-62.

Examines some of the possibilities in the agitation to create new states in Nigeria and explains the politics behind some of the lobbying. Ruddell suggests three broad possibilities: there will be a small number of new states added to the present 19, such as Katsina (out of Kaduna) or Anioma (out of Bendel); there should be 8 or 11 new states to create a total number divisible by 3 to settle the constitutional "two-thirds" issue; and there could be a complete rethinking of the optimum size of a state leading to the formation of 40 or more.

SENEGAL

Kanza, Thomas R. "De La Senegambia (About The Senegambia)." Jeune Afrique, nos. 1076-77, 19 and 26 August 1981, pp. 22-23.

The role of Senegal in reinstalling President Dawda Jawara as President of Gambia and the announced efforts toward federation of the two countries are the subjects of this editorial. The disaffection of the people of Gambia was justified, but the question of the existence of Gambia has always been puzzling. At this time, some form of union between the two countries is necessary to prevent an outright annexation of Gambia by Senegal.

Soudan, Francois. "Que Font Les Senegalais en Gambie (What are the Senegalese Doing in The Gambia)?" Jeune Afrique, nos. 1076-77, 19 and 26 August 1981, pp. 16-19.

A blow-by-blow account of the Senegalese military operations in Gambia. The Gambians favored the attempted coup which the Senegalese overturned. The question remains: will the Senegalese ever evacuate Gambia?

SIERRA LEONE

Bolsover, Ann. "Dr. Conteh on Issues Behind the Strike." West Africa, 21 September 1981, pp. 2162-64.

An interview with Sierra Leone's Foreign Minister in which he tries to minimize the affects of the August 1981 strike called by the Sierra Leone Labor Congress (SLLC). According to Conteh, only a few people were behind the strike which was confined to the capital of Freetown. Moreover, most of the SLLC's demands were political rather than labor-related.

"Time Running Out for Siaka Stevens?" Foreign Report, 20 August 1981, p. 4.

An account of Sierra Leone's internal problems. Recent labor violence stems from the government's refusal to discuss alternative economic policies suggested by the Sierra Leone Labor Congress. Symptomatic of the political malaise is low public enthusiasm for the up-coming elections. Rather than stepping down as President as had been predicted, Stevens appears determined to retain his position. Some feel that he would like his son Alex to become the next president.

SOMALIA

Miller, Norman N. The Other Somalia (Part I: "Illicit Trade and the Hidden Economy" and Part II: "Foreign Aid and Local Politics.") American Universities Field Staff Reports, nos. 29 and 30, 1981.

After an overview of the problems confronting the Somali economy (the conflict with Ethiopia, refugees, drought, and floods), the author gives an informative account of the functioning economy of Somalia that includes the

legal economy, which is beset by numerous difficulties such as lack of investment, infrastructural elements, and incentives, and the second, or illegal economy, which is booming. It is the latter section of the Somali economic system that is given particular attention by the author as he details the pervasiveness and importance of this officially and unofficially condoned system of smuggling, black market exchanges, and underhanded shipping practices. The author concludes that the illegal nature of such a large segment of Somali economic exchanges is not the worst in terms of scale in Africa, yet it does indicate a growing disrespect for law and established order by both the governed and those who govern. In Part II the author studies the extensive dependence of Somalia on foreign aid and concludes that it is unlikely that the country, because of its poverty and the vagaries of weather, will be able to break the straitjacket imposed by its reliance on other nations and international relief agencies.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Angola: The Clandestine War." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 37-38.

A standard description of South Africa's 32 battalion and its new ethnic battalions.

Chettle, John. "The United States and South Africa: Barriers To Communication." Orbis, vol. 25, no. 1 (1981), pp. 145-63.

Chettle, an employee of the South Africa Foundation, argues that the United States judges South Africa's policies by Western, rather than by African, values. Furthermore, he maintains, South Africa has substantially moderated her domestic policies. Chettle applauds the carrot-stick approach of the Reagan administration.

Gann, L. H., and Duignan, Peter. Why South Africa Will Survive. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1981, 299 pp.

Gann and Duignan argue the need for US support of South Africa, noting the strategic importance of the Cape route and strategic minerals as well as the unlikelihood of South Africa's whites losing political power. The authors examine and dismiss various scenarios for the violent overthrow of the Nationalist government. The book raises provocative issues and offers useful statistical tables yet its approach is probably too static, largely ignoring the increasing militancy among young blacks, changing white attitudes, and the increasing Western investment in black Africa.

"Inquiry. Passports For Sale." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 49-51.

Examines how South Africans may acquire passports from Central and South American nations, notably Costa Rica, for business and military travel.

Jenkins, Simon. "Too Fast For Comfort." Economist, 19 September 1981, pp. 7-9.

Examining neo-apartheid after the recent election and fall in the gold price, Jenkins contends that conservative politicians and businessmen have once more regained hegemony in South Africa. Jenkins notes the rise of the right wing and the Nationalist government's decision not to push various racial reforms. As a result, the South African economy will continue to suffer from the lack of skilled manpower.

Lambley, Peter. The Psychology of Apartheid. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981. Reviewed by Jennifer Whitaker in Foreign Affairs, vol. 59, no. 5 (1981), p. 1194.

A "provocative. . .fascinating and original" psychological profile of South Africa's racial groups and how they react to apartheid.

Pahad, Essop. "Freedom For The People Of South Africa." World Marxist Review, August 1981, pp. 116-18.

A short history of the South African Communist Party (SACP) that notes its early championing of the white South African laboring class. With that "error" corrected, the SACP strives to strengthen the national liberation movement, spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and broaden the membership base in "the struggle for the socialist future." The article concludes by stressing the SACP's loyalty to the world communist government.

The Study Commission on U. S. Policy Toward Southern Africa. South Africa: Time Running Out. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981, 517 pp.

An excellent general introduction to South Africa with recommendations that the United States somewhat increase pressure on South Africa for reform. A separate chapter, "Fortress South Africa," examines South Africa's strategic position and believes that guerrillas have not established rural-based cells. The chapter compares South Africa's military strength to the rest of Africa and then examines the issues of multiracialism in the armed forces, arms self-sufficiency, and the effect of the arms embargo.

SUDAN

"Sudan: Worries in South and West." Africa Confidential, 8 April 1981, pp. 4-6.

The Nimeiri regime faces three interrelated problems. First, the "dangerous centrifugal tendencies" in the western provinces of Darfur and Kordofan continue. Not only does the Sudanese regime have to worry about the regional anti-Khartoum attitudes, but the arrival of Libyan troops in neighboring Chad could add to the problem. Second, the Sudanese economy is in very poor shape. The central government must balance between the stern economic package recommended by the World Bank and the IMF and future plans for economic expansion. Finally, the Nimeiri regime must face the potential dangers brought about by the current Islamic renaissance in the Middle East.

ZAIRE

"Brussels' Zaire Views." Africa Confidential, 30 July 1981, p. 2.

Compares and contrasts French and Belgian policies and interests in Zaire. Contains a listing of "who's who" in formulating Belgium's African/Zairian policies. Also contains some specifics on Belgian, French and Chinese assistance to the Zairian Armed Forces.

ZIMBABWE

Brayton, Abbot. "The Future of Zimbabwe." Africa Today, vol. 27, no. 4 (1980), pp. 5-20.

Reviews well-known problems facing the new Zimbabwean Government and the roles of various internal and foreign forces. Brayton suggests that the longer Mugabe's grace period extends with the electorate, the greater the possibility of peace and impressive national development.

Carver, Richard. "Zimbabwe: One Year On." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 15-17.

Briefly analyzes Zimbabwe's first year. Offers several observations on the Zimbabwe African National Union's (ZANU's) politics and argues that ZANU's former guerrillas have proved less susceptible to ethnic rivalries than their political counterparts.

Peirce, Michael. "'Rebel' In Rhodesia." Soldier of Fortune, December 1981, pp. 36-43, 83-89.

An American describes his service in the Rhodesian Armored Car Regiment. Self-serving and largely uninformative, although it does cite specific coercion of voters in the 1979 election. Pictures of Rhodesian armored equipment.

"Vengeance By Smith Men." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 17-18.

Provides background on the February fighting in Bulawayo and maintains that the former Rhodesian African Rifles used the outbreak to conduct unwarranted reprisals against the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Joshua Nkomo.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in November 1981)

Africa General

Henry, C. Michael. "U.S. Inflation and the Import Demand of Ghana and Nigeria, 1967-1976." Review of Black Political Economy, vol. 11, no. 2 (Winter 1981), pp. 217-28.

An econometric analysis which hypothesizes that the US rate of inflation significantly affected the level of imports of US products by Ghana and Nigeria. Concludes that the effect of the US inflation rate on imports, especially in Ghana, is considerably understated.

Kamara, Sylviane. "Il Est Urgent d'Attendre (It is Urgent to Wait)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1081, 23 September 1981.

The proposed Senegambia Confederation demands patience from all parties involved. The question of contraband moving from Gambia to Senegal--a major source of Gambian revenue--must be cautiously addressed. Guinea-Bissau did not ask to be involved but finds itself the refuge of attempted coup leader Kukoi Samba Sanyang. Guinean President Jose Bernardo Vieira favors extradition, but more Marxist and pro-Soviet members of his government oppose this and the annexation or confederation of Gambia with Senegal. In spite of British objections, Senegal cannot permit a regime too different from its own to exist in Gambia.

Kanet, Roger E. "Military Relations Between Eastern Europe and Africa." Unpublished paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association held in Bloomington, Indiana, from 21-24 October 1981.

Although East European states clearly have an interest in expanding their economic relations with sub-Saharan Africa, especially in the field of securing future supplies of minerals, it is most probable that political and security interests will continue to dominate East European involvement in Africa, particularly for Romania and East Germany, the two countries most actively involved in African affairs.

Laurance, Edward J. "Soviet Arms Transfers to Sub-Saharan Africa." Unpublished paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association held in Bloomington, Indiana, from 21-24 October 1981.

Concentrating on the period 1975-80, the author explains the Soviet arms transfer policy as primarily being based on an attempt by Moscow to gain influence in recipient countries, undermine Western influence, and extend the Soviet defense perimeter. There are also structural elements explaining Soviet arms transfers, such as large production rates and stockpiles of weapons in the Soviet Union, a growing hard currency need, and the growth of the Soviet Navy. Finally, the author lists characteristics of the sub-Saharan region which "invite" Soviet arms transfers, such as centralized, authoritarian governments and conflict situations.

Leistner, Erich. "Western Aid to Africa." Bulletin (Africa Institute of South Africa), vol. 22, no. 8 (1981), pp. 59, 62.

In 1979, the West contributed about 76 percent of all development aid received by the Third World; the US was the single greatest source of aid with 15.9 percent. The deepening economic recession in the West and Africa's "lackluster" economic performance from previous aid will affect both the amount and the direction of future Western aid.

Magyar, Karl P. "United States Trade With Africa: A Critical Perspective." Journal of African Studies, vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 121-25.

Advocates increased US economic penetration of Africa. Currently, the US has a favorable trade balance with only a few African nations. The author recommends an effort to increase the US market share of all exports to Africa as a means of balancing our trade deficits.

Potholm, Christian P., and Fredland, Richard A., eds. Integration and Disintegration in East Africa. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1981, 219 pp. Reviewed in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 1 (Fall 1981), p. 219.

This exhaustive autopsy of the East African Community does not give rise to much optimism about future integrative efforts in Africa. As the contributors agree, the causes of the death were multiple and mortality virtually inevitable, given political strains plus the lack of economic leeway in any of the countries to cushion the necessary adjustments.

"Le Programme Socialiste Pour l'Afrique (The Socialist [Party's] Program for Africa)." Le Mois en Afrique, nos. 186-87, June-July 1981, pp. 17-41.

The problems of Africa are catalogued and the arrival to power of the Socialist Party in France is presented as an opportunity to deal with historical problems in a new way. The Giscardian policy based on privileged relations with the wealthier nations must be discarded for cooperation based on recognition by France of African nations as equals.

Shreeve, Gavin. "Africa's Long-Term Promise Woos Japan." Africa Economic Digest, 23 October 1981, pp. 2-4.

Japanese overseas investments are primarily directed by long-term planning and Japan's lack of natural resources. Africa's potential markets and abundant mineral resources are its best hope of attracting Japanese business, industrial, mining, and entrepreneurial skills to its shores. The article contains numerous trade statistics.

ANGOLA

"Angola: U.S. Downplays South African Raid." Africa News, 31 August 1981, pp. 2, 10-11.

Outlines Angolan, UN, US, and South African official reactions to the August 1981 South African raid into Angola. Also notes the critical reactions of other major Western powers, most notably those involved in the UN Contact Group on Namibia.

"Angola Documents." Africa Report, November-December 1981, pp. 9-11.

A collection of excerpts from high-ranking US and Angolan officials concerning recent developments in southern Africa. Included in this article: "Reactions to the South African invasion" by Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, "Namibia/Angola Linkages" by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr. Chester A. Crocker, and "The American Veto" by US alternate representative to the United Nations for special political affairs Ambassador Charles M. Lichenstein.

"Cunene's Treacherous Roads." Africa News, 31 August 1981, pp. 2, 11.

Two journalists from the Mozambican weekly Tempo describe their visit to Ondjiva, provincial capital of Cunene Province, Angola. Cunene, which borders Namibia, has been the scene of some of the heaviest South African military activity against SWAPO and Angolan forces since 1975. Specifically, Ondjiva has been attacked several times by the South Africans, most recently in August 1981. The two journalists visited Ondjiva early in 1981 following another South African raid. The article also discusses South African aerial bombardment aircraft and tactics.

Hughes, Anthony J. "Angola Interview: Congressman Howard Wolpe." Africa Report, November-December 1981, pp. 4-8.

Congressman Wolpe, Chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, discusses his perceptions and hopes for US policy in southern Africa, especially concerning Angola. Among other things, Congressman Wolpe advocates US recognition of the Luanda government. Wolpe is critical of the US's veto of the UN resolution condemning South Africa for its recent incursion into Angola.

BOTSWANA

Murry, Roger. "Botswana: Even Success Can Bring Problems." New African, July 1981, pp. 35-36.

Despite a rather impressive record of political stability and continuing economic growth, Botswana still faces serious problems. Domestically, a high level of youth unemployment is the government's prime concern. Internationally, expanding hostilities in and around Namibia threaten Botswana-South African relations. Moreover, there have been recent reports of clashes between South African troops and Botswana Defense Force personnel along the Namibia-Botswana border. At present, nearly all of Botswana's consumer and food products are imported from South Africa.

CHAD

Hoche, Christian. "Tchad: Bienvenue Monsieur Goukouni (Chad: Welcome Mr. Goukouni)." Express, no. 1576, 25 September 1981, p. 61.

Background events explaining Chad's strong desire for a rapprochement with France are highlighted. While Libyan promises to pay Chad's civil servants were empty words, the Libyans had already begun to name regional and local officials for the planned Libya-Chad union. The author is pessimistic about

the effectiveness of the inter-African force: the 500-man Congolese contingent which arrived and left in 1980 is described as more adept at pillage than maintaining order. A hasty Libyan pullout is viewed as a possible destabilizing tactic by Libya to provoke a quick return.

COMOROS ISLANDS

Sow, Sadio Lamine. "Veillee d'Armes (Arms Wake)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1080, 16 September 1981, p. 51.

Strategically placed in the Indian Ocean, the Comoros is trying to get back into the good graces of France. Ahmed Abdullah, brought to power by a coup d'etat led by white mercenaries, lacks credibility and his government remains a pariah in many circles. However, the strategic position of the Comoros may lead to increased attention and economic assistance.

CONGO

Mboukou, Alexandre. "U.S./Congo: Pragmatic Relations." Africa Report, November-December 1981, pp. 12-18.

Alexandre Mboukou, an instructor at the University of the District of Columbia and Vice President of the Organization of African Economic Development, discusses the "three distinct historical periods" in US-Congolese relations since the Congo became independent in 1960: "1960-63 (friendly), 1963-77 (unfriendly), and 1977 to the present (mutually accommodating)." The author concludes that despite some policy disagreements with the current administration, US-Congolese relations should continue on a positive basis.

DJIBOUTI

"Djibouti: A Service Economy." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 June-14 July 1981, pp. 6063-65.

Djibouti's immediate economic future depends on its success as a service economy. It has no tradition of producing industrial or manufactured goods to export or to satisfy the domestic market, and has virtually no agricultural production. As a result, almost everything has to be imported. During the colonial period the four pillars of its service economy--the sea port, airport, banking sector, and rail links--were developed. As strong as these pillars may be, each one of them is strained by the conflicts in northeast Africa, which explains why Djibouti's President Gouled has been concentrating on promoting peace in the Horn of Africa.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

"Equatorial Guinea: Spanish Comeback." Africa Confidential, 15 October 1981, pp. 6-7.

Discusses Spain's expanding economic and military influence in Equatorial Guinea since the overthrow of the Macias Nguema dictatorship in 1979. Also briefly touches on French and Nigerian interests and concerns vis-a-vis Spain's new role. Includes a short discussion of Equatorial Guinean political opposition groups based in Spain.

ETHIOPIA

Galperin, G. "Agrarnaya revolyutsiya v efiopii (Agrarian Revolution in Ethiopia)." Aziya i afrika segodnya (Asia and Africa Today), no. 8 (1981), pp. 25-28.

Describes the transformations in Ethiopia's countryside, termed a "classically peasant state." The author dwells on the role of peasant associations in the Ethiopian village setting, as well as other cooperative ventures. These rural innovations were received by the peasantry according to their historic development, but some groups, mainly in the wealthier north, were wary of the "reforms."

GABON

Schissel, Howard. "Gabon: Condition Stable, Recovery in Sight." Modern Africa, July/August 1981, p. 32.

Higher prices for its oil exports plus a healthy dose of austerity are helping to put Gabon's economy back on its feet.

NAMIBIA

"Report From The War Zone." Southern Africa, July-August 1981, pp. 7, 8, 19, 20.

General impressions of life for blacks in Namibia's operational zone. Mentions the strong hatred by most black Namibians for headmen carrying out South African orders.

NIGER

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Que Faire du Mali? (How is Mali Doing?)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1081, 23 September 1981, pp. 26-27.

Mali's attempts to rejoin the Franc Zone and be accredited equal status in the francophone West African community faces several challenges. In spite of French patronage, which includes writing off large debts and subsidizing badly-run enterprises, other countries remain hesitant. Upper Volta wants the border question answered before it approves Mali's reentry, and Togo resents Mali's reluctance in joining the nonaggression pact of West African countries which its president sponsors. Ivory Coast's Houphouet-Boigny is the strongest advocate of Mali's reintegration. Senegal, suspected of wishing to use Mali as an excuse for its own bankrupted state enterprises, has also held out its hand to its brother. Mali threatens to turn even more to the Soviet Union if it is not accepted.

"La COGEMA et l'Afrique en 1980 (COGEMA and Africa in 1980)." Europe Outremer, no. 617, June 1981, pp. 33-34.

The Primary Materials General Company (COGEMA), affiliated with the French Atomic Energy Commission, is concerned with Niger because of its uranium resources. In Niger, COGEMA is a partner in three companies which represent different mining operations, and it has branched out to include investments

in infrastructure and oil prospecting. COGEMA has interests in the Central African Republic and Gabon and is prospecting in Guinea and Mali; recently, COGEMA signed agreements with Senegal and Zambia.

SIERRA LEONE

"A First-Ever General Strike." Africa News, 31 August 1981, pp. 5-8.

Describes the August 1981 general strike called by the Sierra Leone Labor Congress to protest economic policies. President Stevens and his son Jopingie are accused of corruption. In a separate interview, John Karefa-Smart, a former ally of Stevens now in the US, asserts that Stevens' body-guard is composed of Algerians, Libyans, and Cubans, and that the regular army is used only for ceremonial functions.

SOMALIA

Dietz, Robert. "Somalia: Diversion of Food Aid Charged; Refugee Count Planned." Africa News, 5 October 1981, pp. 5-7.

More and more individuals involved in the United Nations refugee relief effort in Somalia are claiming that the Somali Government is officially diverting food and other relief supplies to its armed forces and the Western Somali Liberation Front. An official refugee count is planned by the relief agencies which suspect that the figures provided by the Somalis are bloated. However, there is pessimism that even this will do much to alter the situation: it is claimed that the US and other Western donors are fully aware of where the supplies are going and are pleased that this indirect assistance to the Siad Barre regime is cloaked in an international relief campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Apartheid Fest Sparks Protests." Southern Africa, July-August 1981, pp. 23-24, 30.

Examines various protests and boycotts against South Africa's Republic Day.

Cronje, Suzanne. "Guerrillas Who Display an Unusual Touch of Humanity." New African, July 1981, pp. 34-35.

A pro-African National Congress (ANC) article, which points out recent successful ANC raids throughout South Africa while underscoring the ANC's concern for human life. States that the ANC recently signed the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977, the latter concerning the protection of victims of international armed conflicts. Compares and contrasts the ANC with rightwing white extremist Wit Kommandos, and states that the ANC poses a serious threat to the Botha government in South Africa.

Ggaji, Wandile. "Pokela: The Man Who Now Leads the PAC." New African, July 1981, p. 11.

A one-page biographical sketch of the newly appointed central committee chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa), Nvati Pokela. Also contains some historical data on the PAC.

"Good Omens For a Namibian Settlement." Africa Economic Digest, 9 September 1981, pp. 3-4.

Based largely on an interview with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Princeton Lyman, the article asserts that South Africa will soon agree to Western proposals for Namibia.

Nyirenda, Mark August. "Barren Bantustans." New African, July 1981, pp. 16-19.

A very critical article of South Africa's homelands policy. Describes the black poverty and deprivation and white opulence that exists in and near "these human dumping grounds."

"Our Navy Is Small But More Than a Match For Would-Be Aggressors." Paratus, September 1981, pp. 22-23.

Notes that during the past decade the South African Navy switched from defending the Cape sea route to defending its own coastline. As a result, the navy emphasizes small, fast strike craft.

"The Queen of Our Skies." Paratus, September 1981, pp. 6-7.

Focuses on the 12th Squadron of the South African Air Force. While noting the age and low fatigue index of the squadron's Canberra bombers, the article mentions that the Canberras' avionics have been continually updated.

"South Africa's Year of Destiny." World Press Review, October 1981, pp. 28-31.

An interview with Allister Sparks, former editor of the Rand Daily Mail. Sparks reviews discriminatory statutes and touches on growing black unionization. He suggests that recent divisions within the Nationalist Party will encourage political reform.

"Strike Wave Brings Crackdowns." Southern Africa, July-August 1981, pp. 21-22, 31.

Examines the growing power of black unions, as demonstrated in recent Republic Day protests, and how the South African Government is attempting to limit this power.

Tambo, Oliver. "Sanctions--Weapon Against Apartheid Aggression." Sechaba, July 1981, pp. 3-10.

President of the African National Congress Tambo urges mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and criticizes the Western powers for refusing to adopt sanctions because of their political, military, and economic investment in white-run South Africa.

SUDAN

"Libyan Moves Against Sudan?" Foreign Report (London), 20 August 1981, pp. 1-2.

Enumerates Libyan "motives" for seeking the overthrow of the Numeiry regime in Khartoum, and discusses Sudan's "strategic importance" to the US and US interests in the Red Sea area.

"Sudan: Heightened Profile for Numeiry." Africa News, 5 October 1981, pp. 2-4, 9.

President Numeiry is considered by many to be the only person able to keep the lid on the economic, political, and religious divisions that plague Sudan. Discontent within the south is at its highest since 1972 when Numeiry successfully negotiated an end to the 17-year old civil war. In part, the current trouble in the region is a result of the economic stagnation of the area, but the inhabitants blame the central government. Numeiry reinforced this notion by deciding earlier this year to locate an oil refinery outside of the southern region. In addition, there is a debate raging over the issue of dividing the Southern Region into three autonomous areas, a proposal that the southerners see as an attempt by the central government to institute "salami tactics." With weapons flowing across the Ugandan border to the Southern Region, it is becoming urgent for Numeiry to devote more time to domestic problems at the expense of his international activities.

Woodward, Peter, "Nationalism and Opposition in Sudan." African Affairs, vol. 80, no. 320 (July 1981), pp. 379-88.

An interesting article in which the author analyzes the major opposition groups active in Sudan--Anya Nya, the Sudan Communist Party, and the National Front (Mahdists)--in an attempt to understand how each group transforms organizational opposition to ideological opposition that embodies nationalism, the key ingredient for success. Concludes that only the Sudan Communist Party was capable of making this transformation but chose, on ideological grounds, not to forge ahead when it was possible.

UPPER VOLTA

Diallo, Siradiou. "Des Prisonniers Encombrants (The Embarrassing Prisoners)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1081, 23 September 1981, pp. 24-5.

Although paper work flows more quickly through government offices, the optimism which accompanied the military takeover and its promises to set things in order is fading. The mineral wealth of the country is no closer to being exploited, and the emphasis of the military government on food self-sufficiency remains a distant goal. The lengthy incarceration of former officials is an embarrassment to the government and provides the powerful unions and political followers of the deposed leaders with an antiregime rallying cry.

ZAIRE

Karl-I-Bond, Nguza. "The Situation in Zaire." Africa Report, November-December 1981, pp. 19-22.

Excerpts from the testimony of former Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond before the African Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Needless to say, he is very critical of the current Mobutu regime in Zaire. The article closes with the official one-page policy statement issued by the Department of State following the testimony in which continued US support for the Mobutu government is pledged.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY-OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in December 1981)

AFRICA GENERAL

Coker, Christopher. "Adventurism and Pragmatism: The Soviet Union, COMECON, and Relations with African States." International Affairs, vol. 57, no. 4 (Autumn 1981), pp. 618-33.

A very thorough and interesting article that highlights the differences that exist between the "strategic" interests of the Soviet Union and the more limited economic needs of the countries of Eastern Europe vis-a-vis Africa. An example given by the author to illustrate the tensions over Africa that Moscow and the Bloc countries must contend with is the issue of admitting Mozambique to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

Gann, L. H., and Duignan, Peter. Africa South of the Sahara: The Challenge to Western Security. Stanford: Hoover Press, 1981, 128 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 1 (Fall 1981), p. 218.

Gann and Duignan reportedly favor a more pro-South African policy for the United States to counter all the current instability in black Africa. They advise the United States to "drop its romantic notions concerning 'liberation'" and advocate increased arms sales and aid to anti-Marxist dissident movements in Africa.

"The Horn of Africa." Strategic Survey (International Institute of Strategic Studies), 1980-81.

An evenhanded and informative survey of the political and military situation of the countries of the Horn of Africa. Particularly useful sections include those pertaining to the conflicts in the Ogaden and Eritrea and the Soviet Union's relations with Ethiopia.

Kihm, Alain. "La Situation Linguistique en Casamance et Guinec-Bissau (The Linguistic Situation in Casamance and Guinea-Bissau)." Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines, vol. 2, no. 79 (1980), pp. 369-86.

Although largely linguistic in scope, the comparison between languages spoken, common ethnic groups, and shared political experiences between peoples of the Casamance region in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau has important political relevance. The area is rich in language diversity and the influence of French and Portuguese is limited. The author states that even in Guinea-Bissau, French would be the more useful language since many Guine-Bissauans have worked or are working in Senegal.

Madeley, John. "Diego Garcia: An Indian Ocean Storm-Centre." Round Table, no. 283 (July 1981).

The controversy over the establishment of an American base on Diego Garcia involves more than the displacement of a few thousand inhabitants. For Great Britain it means continued colonial involvement. The relationship between Britain and the Chagos Islanders will remain a problem for the British Government which wanted to divest itself of involvement in the region.

Seiler, John, ed. Southern Africa Since the Portuguese Coup. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980, 252 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 1 (Fall 1981), p. 218.

Although written prior to the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia settlement, the book offers a good background and overview of developments in southern Africa to 1979. Although specifics are not cited, the review singles out the articles on Namibia and Mozambique as "particularly distinguished."

Shreeve, Gaven, et al. "SADCC: Level-Headed Approach to a Hugh Task." Africa Economic Digest, 13 November 1981, pp. 3-6.

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) is comprised of nine member states: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. This article gives a country-by-country listing and details of long-range transport projects throughout the SADCC region. It also contains a map of the SADCC railway network.

Smaldone, Joseph P. "U.S. Arms Transfers and Security Assistance Programs in Africa: A Review and Policy Perspective." Unpublished paper presented at the 24th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana, 21-24 October 1981, 38 pp.

An outline based on comprehensive statistical data which highlights trends in US arms transfers to Africa. The paper also explores the relationship between arms imports and several political, social, and economic variables. Among the findings: over the last 30 years, Africa has received only 1.5 percent of US worldwide military assistance and North Africa has received three-fifths of this total; over the last 5 years, US arms agreements with Africa have tripled, however, actual deliveries have lagged far behind; US arms shipments are concentrated in areas of special political and strategic interest; and internal "pull variables" rather than external "push variables" best explain international arms transfers to Africa.

"Les Societes Petrolières Françaises et l'Afrique in 1980 (The French Petroleum Companies and Africa in 1980)." Europe Outremer, no. 617, June 1980, pp. 29-30.

Outlines oil exploration by CFP (French Petroleum Company) and the French national company Elf Aquitaine in Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Libya, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia.

Stevenson, Merril, and Johala, Antonio. "SADCC Balances Aspirations with Realities." Africa Economic Digest, 27 November 1981, pp. 2-3.

The third annual meeting of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was held in Blantyre, Malawi, from 19-20 November 1981. The SADCC is equally dedicated to accelerating economic growth through regional cooperation and reducing dependence on South Africa for transport and communications. Although positive steps have been made over the years, the SADCC must deal with serious economic problems, aid shortages, and some hard political realities.

Volsky, George. "The Soviet-Cuban Connection." Current History, October 1981, pp. 325-46.

An overview of Cuba's great dependence on the Soviet Union (estimated to be \$10 million per day) and how Cuba reimburses Moscow by providing, among other things, proxy forces to Africa and elsewhere.

BURUNDI

"Remise en Ordre (Placing in Order)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1080, 16 September 1981, pp. 42-43.

In this interview with the Burundi Ambassador to Belgium Cyprien Mbonunpa, Burundi's economic situation is discussed in terms of its dependence on the exportation of coffee (which accounts for 80 percent of its receipt of currency), its difficulties as a landlocked exporter requiring it to rely on the ports of Tanzania, and its problem in exploiting nickel. Mbonunpa also comments on Burundi's political stance in relation to its neighbors, to other African countries, and to the East and West.

CAMEROON

"L'Economie Rurale du Cameroun (The Rural Economy of Cameroon)." Freres d'Armes, September-October 1981, pp. 4-8.

Examines agriculture, breeding of livestock, the fishing industry, forestry, and exploitation of natural resources in Cameroon. The country can now feed all of its inhabitants as three-fourths of the population is involved in agricultural activities. Important industries are oil, sugar refineries, coffee, tea, textiles, and paper. Cameroon's rural economy is diversified and active and permits Cameroon to develop beyond having the capability to feed its people.

CHAD

Forestier, Patrick, and Gysembergh, Benoit. "L'Etrange Parade de N'Djamena (The Strange Parade of N'Djamena)." Paris Match, 27 November 1981, pp. 68-72.

A blow-by-blow account of the Libyan evacuation which concurred with the arrival of Zairian troops of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) peace-keeping force in Chad. As the Libyans left Chad they burned all they could not carry, and, in the vacuum, the forces of dissident Hissene Habre moved closer to N'Djamena. Acyl Ahmat, presumed to be Libya's man, now affirms his affection for France.

CONGO

"A l'Heure du Petrole (The Hour of Oil)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1091, 2 December 1981, pp. 44-47.

Explores the effect that soaring oil production has had on the Congo, including a tremendous influx of foreign enterprise (primarily in the construction of all kinds of facilities), and in the increasing standard of living of civil servants and the population in general. A 5-year plan (1982-86) has

been developed to funnel the new wealth into sectors of production other than oil, including agriculture, transportation, telecommunications, and energy. In an attempt to revitalize other segments of the economy, the government of the Congo hopes to stop the rapid flow of Congolese from Brazzaville and the countryside to the oil refineries of Pointe-Noire.

DJIBOUTI

"Djibouti: The 4th Anniversary of the National Army." African Defence, August 1981, pp. 32-33.

Provides extensive information on the Djiboutian armed forces order of battle as well as some insights into the philosophy of its training and integration into society.

ETHIOPIA

Aliboni, Roberto. "The Ethiopian Revolution: Stabilization." Armed Forces and Society, vol. 7, no. 3 (Spring 1981), pp. 423-43.

Focuses on the factors underlying the stabilization that is evident in contemporary Ethiopia. In particular, the author cites the overall success that Ethiopia has achieved in relaxing regional tensions, such as closer ties with Kenya, Djibouti, and the Sudan; the general containment of secessionist movements in Eritrea and the Ogaden; the establishment of programs that will be the basis for the long-term development of Ethiopia's immense agricultural potential; and the consolidation of the untraditional revolutionary impulses in Ethiopia's political life with new political structures.

GABON

"OCTRA I." Freres D'Armes, September-October 1981, pp. 21-23.

Describes the June 1981 annual maneuvers of French and Gabonese Armed Forces in the region of N'Djole-Booué. Emphasizes the importance of the Transgabonais Railroad run by OCTRA (Organization in Charge of the Functioning of the Transgabonais) in the safe and speedy transport of troops. The railroad, which is still being constructed, is now 230 kilometers long and runs from Libreville to N'Djole and will someday tie Libreville to the rich mineral beds in Franceville.

GAMBIA

"Vers L'Union Avec Le Senegal? (Towards Union With Senegal?)." Afrique Contemporaine, no. 116, September-October 1980, pp. 25-27.

A chronology of events during the attempted coup in Gambia which brought Senegalese troops to support President Jawara. In addition to being unstable, Gambia provided a haven for Senegalese antigovernment agents, a factor which would be diminished by a form of union.

Nyang, Sulayman S. "After the Rebellion." Africa Report, November/December 1981, pp. 47-51.

An excellent general information article on Gambia which analyzes the post-coup attempt atmosphere. Nyang suggests that coup leader Sukoi Samba Sanyang identified his revolt as Marxist merely to differentiate it from President Jawara's pro-Western policies.

GHANA

Barnor, Ansah. "Limann and the Press." West Africa, 9 November 1981, pp. 2633-36.

A detailed account of the dispute between President Hilla Limann and the Ghanaian news media. The author takes the position that the government is stifling freedom of the press and offers several instances of repression to support this case.

"Ghana: Opposition Splinters." Africa Confidential, 28 October 1981, pp. 3-5.

Comments on the difficulties Ghana's five opposition parties are having in their unification efforts. The break up of the merger into the All Peoples Party (APP) began following the withdrawal of the Action Congress Party which objected to the choice of Victor Owusu as leader of the APP. Furthermore, it seems likely that the Social Democratic Front will also leave the union. The main beneficiaries of this bickering are President Limann and the Ruling Peoples National Party whose chances in the 1983 parliamentary elections are enhanced.

IVORY COAST

Diallo, Siradiou. "Les Impatients S'Experiment (The Anxious Speak Out)." Jeune Afrique, no. 1092, 9 December 1981, pp. 36-38.

The decline in prices for agricultural products, especially cocoa, has brought on an increasingly serious and apparent economic crisis in the Ivory Coast. The economic crisis in turn has provoked social unrest as projects have been cancelled or are at a standstill, and unemployment has become a problem, especially for the newly educated. Although prospects for the future are promising, the burning political succession question compounds difficulties.

KENYA

"Kenya: Shiftas Embarrass Nairobi's NEP Aid Efforts." Africa Now, April 1981, pp. 31-32.

The North Eastern Province (NEP), a colonial-created buffer area inhabited by ethnic Somalis, has been the focus of extensive development programs by the national government aimed at improving the living conditions and loyalties of the several thousand nomads presently living there. Despite these efforts by the central government, tensions instigated by acts of violence by the shiftas or nomadic bandits are running high and Nairobi fears that Somalia, which has irredentist claims to the area, will attempt to reassert

its claims after having been repulsed in the Ogaden and bolstered with US military aid.

"Kenya: Towards 1984." Africa Confidential, 15 October 1981, pp. 1-4.

Surveys the predominant trends in Kenyan politics prior to the 1984 general elections. One interesting observation that is made concerns President Arap Moi's preoccupation with foreign affairs to the detriment of domestic issues. It is also noted that the President is somewhat indiscriminate in his conduct of foreign policy with his liberal use of the phrase "cordial relations" to describe Kenya's ties with all types of international pariahs. There is also a feeling among many in Kenya that more could be done for the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress in South Africa.

MADAGASCAR

Moine, Jacques. "Madagascar: Difficultes Pour Le President Ratsiraka (Madagascar: Difficulties for President Ratsiraka)." L'Afrique Et L'Asie Modernes. 2d Trimester, no. 129 (1981), pp. 42-52.

Economic problems caused by President Ratsiraka's socialist policies are creating dissatisfaction in Madagascar. Leftist and rightist factions within the government coalition vie for dominance as opposition to Soviet influence is becoming more outspoken. The article catalogs Soviet military aid to Madagascar and states that by furnishing the infrastructure for maintenance of sophisticated arms, the Soviets have the possibility of using operational facilities in the Western Indian Ocean, and that for a long time it has been Soviets who fly MiGs purchased by Madagascar. Ratsiraka's retention of power rests on his ability to get French assistance to overcome basic food shortages.

NIGER

Catrisse, Benoit. "Le Niger A L'Horizon-1990 (Niger: On the Horizon of 1990)." Afrique Industrie, 1 September 1980, pp. 42-67.

An extensive and detailed economic analysis of Niger's accomplishments and projections. Uranium mining forms the basis for future development schemes, but new development projects will require extensive borrowing from international monetary institutions. The study contains information on plans for transportation investment to further economic independence and food self-sufficiency.

NIGERIA

Dodd, Norman L. "Die Nigerianischen Streitkräfte (The Nigerian Armed Forces)." Europäische Wehrkunde, August 1981, pp. 347-50.

Nigeria is presently trying to improve the effectiveness of its armed forces by reducing the size of the Army, improving leadership, and replacing obsolete equipment. The current organization, troop strength, and equipment of the Army, Air Force, and Navy is detailed. Problems in military leadership created by the rapid promotion of poorly qualified officers during the civil

war and current efforts to overcome the problems are summarized. The growing importance of the Navy due to Nigeria's oil exports is emphasized.

RWANDA

"Moi's Rwanda Visit Cements Friendship." The Weekly Review, 24 July 1981, pp. 4-5.

President Daniel Arap Moi, Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, paid a 3-day visit to Rwanda. Moi's visit to Rwanda served to bring Kenya and Rwanda in closer cooperation in the fields of transport and communications, commercial exchanges, agriculture and livestock development, and the movement of people. Other cooperation agreements were signed between the two countries. The article also discusses problems which Rwanda has with Kenya relating to the transport of goods through Kenya to the port of Mombasa, as well as the need for an agreement with Uganda as a connector between Rwanda and Kenya.

SENEGAL

"M. Moustapha Niassé: L'ANAD est un parapluie, une Arme de Dissuasion (ANAD Is an Umbrella, an Arm of Dissuasion)." Afrique Defense, September 1981, 52-54.

Moustapha Niassé, Senegalese Minister of State in charge of Foreign Affairs, discusses ANAD (the Accord of Non-Aggression and Mutual Defense) which binds most of the Francophone African countries together militarily and promises to sponsor joint military exercises. The second part of the article contains an interview with Colonel Tavares da Souza, the Senegalese Secretary General of ANAD, who insisted that ANAD has no intention of integrating the armies of member states, but hopes to strengthen regional and local armed strength against outside attack.

SOUTH AFRICA

Doxey, Margaret. "Oil and Food as International Sanctions." International Journal, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 311-36.

Although this article deals with sanctions in general, it does contain a brief discussion of the various calls for oil boycotts against South Africa. Doxey points out the difficulties and limits of such sanctions as well as the precautions taken by South Africa in the face of such threats.

Shreeve, Gaven, et al. "Nuclear Deal Causes Red Faces in Paris." Africa Economic Digest, 20 November 1981, pp. 17-18.

An account of the French supply of enriched uranium to South Africa's Koeberg power station near Cape Town. The article also discusses the general ambivalent attitude held by many Western nations toward South Africa's nuclear development, especially since South Africa has valuable uranium reserves.

"The South African Army." Vikrant (India), January 1981, pp. 5-8.

A four page survey of the South African Army. Subunits of the article include: "The Army Today," "Personal Weapons," "Logistics," "Vertical Mobility," and a conclusion.

"U.S./South Africa: U.S. Hopeful on Talks with Pretoria." Africa News, 19 October 1981, pp. 4-5, 11-12.

In an attempt to improve relations between Washington and Pretoria, the Reagan administration has dispatched a diplomatic mission to South Africa to tackle the two major issues presently facing better US-South African relations: Namibian independence and nuclear relations. According to this article, the prospects are good for some solutions to the problems.

SUDAN

"Sudan: Can \$220 Million IMF Loan Bail Out Sudan's Economy?" An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, 2 November 1981, pp. 8-10.

An in-depth economic analysis of the current steps being taken to rescue Sudan's sagging economy.

Turner, Seth. "Nimairi Sacks Government." Africa Economic Digest, 13 November 1981, p. 12.

An analysis of the economic crisis that resulted in the dismissal of most of Sudan's cabinet in November. The author speculates that President Nimairi conducted this housecleaning out of anger for the International Monetary Fund's conditions for continued assistance and as a way of erecting a scapegoat to sacrifice to the inevitable public reaction to the cuts in subsidies and other measures designed to improve Sudan's economy.

TOGO

Kazadi, F. S. B. "Trade, Tourism, and Mild Repression." Africa Report, November/December 1981, pp. 39-42.

A good overview of current conditions in Togo. Despite the government's efforts to establish a tourist industry, tourism provides only a minor share of Togo's foreign exchange. Phosphate mining is the backbone of the economy and the price of phosphates is rising slightly. President Eyadema fancies himself a mediator in African conflicts and has created a "cult of the president," complete with statues of himself and shrines. The author calls for increased pressure from West Germany, France, and the United States on Eyadema to halt human rights abuses.

UPPER VOLTA

"On The Breadline." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 September-14 October 1981, pp. 6176-78.

Upper Volta, one of the poorest countries in Africa, remains locked into a subsistence economy despite development efforts. 1981 marked a worsening

economic situation and future planning will depend heavily on foreign aid. The modest, new 5-year plan calls for food independence and bolstering the agricultural sector in place of more grandiose plans of the past.

ZAIRE

Poli, Francois. "La Parole est au Zaire (The Word is Out on Zaire)." Afrique, no. 1090, 25 November 1981, pp. 5-23, 111-24. Jeune

This two-part article discusses the situation in Zaire, from the salary of the average worker to the rich resources of the country. The culture, the economic strife, the political turmoil, and the declining copper supplies are covered in detail.

"Le Sursis Prolonge du President Mobutu (The Prolonged Reprieve of President Mobutu)." Le Monde Diplomatique, September 1981, p. 16.

Discusses the reasons for Western support of Zaire, including Zaire's strategic position on the African continent and its rich mineral resources, and the improbability of any other leader influential enough to change the status quo in Zaire.

Yerkey, Gary. "Troubled Zaire Finds Fewer Active Backers in the West." Christian Science Monitor, 1 September 1981, p. 6.

Citing previous French military aid when Zaire came under attack from "Angolan Marxist guerrillas," the author discusses the Mitterrand regime's present reluctance to become involved in African conflicts and France's view that development aid is more necessary. The Reagan administration, however, is anxious to keep Mobutu in power and would be willing to increase military aid in the event of foreign intervention.

ZIMBABWE

Gann, Lewis H., and Henriksen, Thomas H. The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Battle in the Bush. New York: Praeger, 1981, 154 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 1 (Fall 1981), pp. 217-18.

Gann and Henriksen set out to tell the white Rhodesians' side of the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia war, explaining their motivations, reactions, and effective military and economic strategies. The authors poorly cover the insurgents' side of the story. In any event, they conclude that the Rhodesian security forces had no chance of winning the conflict against ZANU/ZAPU.

Martin, David, and Johnson, Phyllis. The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981, 374 pp. Cited in Foreign Affairs, vol. 60, no. 1 (Fall 1981), p. 217.

Martin and Johnson, two longtime African correspondents, focus primarily on the internal workings of the Zimbabwean guerrilla movements throughout the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia war. The authors have had "extraordinary access" and links to Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); this reportedly gives their study a pro-ZANU slant.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Zimbabwe: Transport Snags." Africa News, 12 October 1981,
pp. 9-11.

Despite its generally healthy economy, landlocked Zimbabwe is facing serious transport problems because of its dependence on neighboring countries, especially South Africa. About 90 percent of Zimbabwe's imports and exports are handled by South Africa; South Africa uses this leverage to influence Zimbabwe's policies in southern Africa. In order to reduce this vulnerability, Zimbabwe is looking to expand its use of Mozambique's ports and facilities.